

M. A N (1297)
ORIGINAL
DRAUGHT
OF THE
Primitive Church

In Answer to a
DISCOURSE
ENTITLED,

An Enquiry into the CONSTITUTION,
DISCIPLINE, UNITY, and WOR-
SHIP, of the *Primitive Church*, that
flourish'd within the first Three Hun-
dred Years after CHRIST.

By a Presbyter of the Church of *England*.

Mr. H. A. H.

The Second Edition.

London: Printed for Geo. Strahan, at the
Golden Ball against the Royal-Exchange, and
J. Bowyer at the Rose in Ludgate-street, 1717.

M. A. N. (1844)

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DRAFT
OF THE
Primitive Church

In Answer to a

DISCOURSE

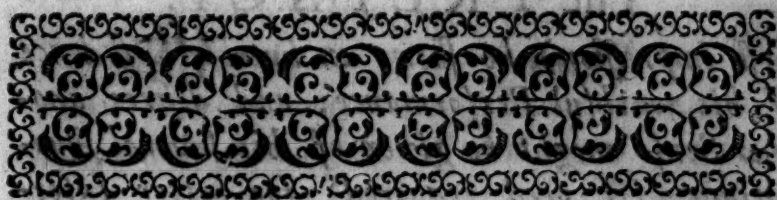
DELIVERED

An Enquiry into the Connexion
between the Primitive Church and
the State of the Primitive Church
founded within the last three
centuries since CHRIST.

By a Presbyter of the Church of England.

The Second Edition.

London: Printed for J. G. Smith, at the
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1844.



THE PREFACE.



THE following Sheets will need the less Apology for them, since all, who call themselves Christians, are so nearly interested in the Subject of them; and the particular Author of that learned Tract they more immediately refer to, will find them little more than a friendly Compliance with a modest Request of his own. His Collections from the venerable Records of the Primitive Church (Intituled, An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of it) were many years since made publick (as I am now assured) though my little Acquaintance with the modern Business of the Press, made me a Stranger to it, till some considerable Time after the second Edition came abroad: In his Preface to them (calculated, I presume, for the

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first Impression) he shews an humble Diffidence of his youthful Performance; and desires another Sense might be given of his several Quotations, (if need required) for better Information of himself and others: I confess I saw need enough of that, at my first Perusal of his Book, and not a little wonder'd, that no friendly Hand had done that Kindness for him long before. As to my own Part, I had never walk'd in the unpleasant Paths of Controversy to that Day; and, besides the Consciousness of my Unfitness for it, had Aversion enough ever to set a foot in them; but seeing none had answered, or was answering, (as I could bear of) so reasonable a Desire, though Men of Letters in both Kingdoms, of our United Island, had declared an earnest Expectation of it, and the Holy Church of England in Particular, has reproached the Silence of her Children in an Argument that so plainly struck at her Foundation; filial Obedience (I may say) to so faithful a Parent, moved me to use the best Endeavours I could, to vindicate her truly Apostolical Constitution, and to plead the Cause of injur'd Antiquity, as well as hers; for that both are truly one, in this Case, the impartial Reader will easily observe, when he sees the palpable Mistakes corrected, and the unfair Representations of the Venerable Fathers of the Church (so obvious in almost every Page of those

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those plausible Collections) restor'd to their genuine Sense again.

This is what may be expected here: And I am not conscious I have strain'd any one Passage in Antiquity, beyond the true Meaning of the venerable Authors themselves, to form a different Construction of it from that of the ingenious Enquirer. I should count it the worst of Sacrilege to do so; the Goods of the Church are not so sacred as her Sense is. What each Quotation appeared to me, from the best Authority, and closest Attention I could use, I have fairly represented here; If defective in apprehending the true Sense, or injudicious in the Inferences from them, I heartily submit (in my Turn) to the Charity of better Information. For as I write with a conscientious Regard to undeceive some, so I am infinitely more concerned not to be deceived my self; and I wish no greater Freedom, from Prejudice or Party, in any who read or censure these Papers, than I am conscious of in the composing of them.

Every one too well knows, of what a large and extensive Nature this unhappy Subject is, and that the Controversial Books about it are sadly numerous, and full of different Schemes and Arguments, according to the Genius of Sects, and Times, and Persons; many of which might have fallen in, with several Parts of this Discourse, had I been inclined to dispute

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(as I bless God I am not,) but I have kept close to the single Treatise before me, and that for two Reasons especially.

1st. Because I heard from many Hands, that the less learned, and more prejudiced, Adversaries of the truly Primitive Church of England, have made their Boasts of it, and from its not being answer'd yet, have proclaim'd it an unanswerable Vindication of their Separation from Her.

2^{dly}, Because I think, that all the scatter'd Arguments and Pleas, for their unwarrantable Schism, are reducible to some one or other, of the great Variety of Quotations cited in it. For a good Part of those mistaken Brethren (we know) with great Zeal plead, the Authority of Holy Scriptures to be clear on their Side, and these sit down contentedly, and triumph in their own Comments, and Constructions of those Holy Oracles; others pay some Deference also to venerable Antiquity; and these two great Witnesses seem to be agreed upon by all, not only to give in their Evidence, but even to be Umpires for them, to determine all the Fundamental Points in Difference between them. The Reader will find the Testimony both of one and the other fairly summ'd up here; and I only pray he may bring a prepared Mind with him,

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him, to sit down by the Peaceful Award, which those Authentick Arbitrators make, for the Blessed Union of all Christians, in one and the same Holy Catholick Church together; which individual Church of Christ, they visibly enough distinguish for us all, from every Counterfeit Image of it, by the truly Primitive, Single, and Apostolical Constitution of it. And as for those who regard little, either one or the other, of these two great Authorities, but over-rule all Outward Testimony, of God or Man, by an Inward Witness of their own, (subject to no Trial of the Holy Scriptures themselves, and impatient to hear of a visible Church, and the Teachings of Men,) I dispute not with them; they supersede all that Trouble for me. I only recommend them to the Divine Compassion for their better Instruction, with affectionate Grief and Prayer for them.

To the Reader I have this only to observe farther, that since these Papers were nigh wrought off the Press, an Ingenious Treatise came to my Hands, Intituled, The Invalidity of the Dissenting Ministry, &c. wherein some particular Quotations in the Enquiry, relating to the Presbyter's Power of Ordination, are judiciously explain'd, and with clear Reasoning answered to the full; which might have shorten'd my Work, and the Author's Trouble in that single Point, had I been so

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fortunate as to have known it in Time: However, 'tis but one Link of the Chain of Mistakes in that whole Performance (to use that Learned Author's Phrase) which fell under his Consideration; and therefore less Offence will be taken, (I hope) if something like it, tho' in a more imperfect Manner, should be met with here again.

I must add for the Ingenious Enquirer's Satisfaction too, that I have all along been mindful of his strict Charge, not to wander out of the streight Bounds he set me, of the three first Centuries of the Church; I think he will have little Reason to complain of that. But as to the particular Editions, of the several Authors he quotes, I can't say I have been so happy, as to have it in my Power, to make use of none but them, tho' I gladly would have done it, in Answer to so reasonable a Desire; but Choice of Impressions has not always fallen in my Way. To make the best Amends I could, I think I have seldom failed, to mention the Edition I use, which I hope will be accepted, where I could do no more.

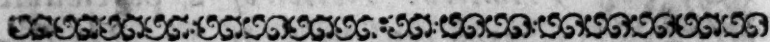
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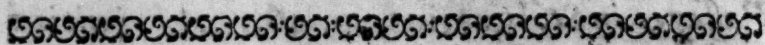
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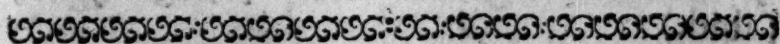
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AN
ORIGINAL DRAUGHT
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IT is a melancholy Thing to see, that after so long a Settlement of the Christian Church in the World, and that by the greatest Evidence and Demonstration of Divine Wisdom and Power, that ever any Work of God was wrought amongst Men; still the Constitution of this Church should want enquiring after: That this City of God, set on purpose, by the Divine Founder of it, on a holy and conspicuous Hill, to the end that every simple one who passeth by, might readily see it, and comfortably enter in to be saved, should be hid from Multitudes, even of serious *Enquirers* after it, in these later Times. I have little Inclination to examine, what Occasion has been given, in the last or present Age, for such a wild Variety of Opinions about it, as has fill'd the Minds of too many Men with dangerous Amusements only, and afforded little or no
B comfortable

comfortable and solid Assurance of the Thing; for this (I fear) would rather aggravate, than heal; and might teach our Enemies to reproach us, instead of instructing mistaken Friends: But wheresoever the Blame of all must lie, in respect of Men, I am sure 'tis a sorrowful Instance to us all, of the too successful Wiles of that *Noted Adversary* in the Oracles of Truth, who, throughout every Age, has counterfeited the Works of God, that he might deceive the Children of Men; and because he can never extinguish the Light of Truth, has either rais'd Mists to make it shine dim, or formed Meteors of his own, that might be mistaken for it. Things are come to such a Height and Warmth amongst us now, that nothing less (I fear) than the interposing Hand of Heaven, in a more than ordinary way, will ever undeceive the Multitudes of prejudiced Brethren in the nearer and remoter Parts of Christendom, and so entirely repair the Breaches of this Holy City of God, as to make it (what it ought to be) in perfect Unity within itself.

Yet, when I meet with any promising Appearance of a vertuous Design to clear up all these Difficulties for us, and help us to a better Understanding with one another; the Subject does affect me; and I can't but have some secret Inclination to look into the Management of it: Not so much to satisfy myself in the Knowledge of a true Church, (which I bless God I have long been satisfied in) as that I can't be wholly unconcern'd for others; and would gladly see, why, and how, we come to

to differ in so great and plain a Matter, who so generally agree in other Fundamentals of the Christian Truth.

This is the main Motive which induced me to look into the Treatise before me: The Title-Page alone offering me a Subject, which I had a Veneration for; and the short Preface fairly intimating to me, that the learned Author had a proper Sense of the Weightiness of the Argument he undertook, and as fairly promis'd a suitable Integrity in the Performance of it: How far these encouraging Hints and solemn Promises are made good in the Work itself, I shall leave to be determin'd by the Reader, when I have particularly consider'd the several Parts of this Elaborate *Enquiry*, which I now propose to do, in Order as they lie.

C H A P. I.

TO begin with his First Chapter then; wherein his main Business is, to examine the Primitive Notion of the Word *Church*; upon a due Apprehension whereof, he truly and ingenuously tells us, that a right Understanding of a great Part of his Discourse does depend. Nothing can be more proper and material therefore in the whole Enquiry before us, than to settle this first; wherein if we can happily agree, the whole Work will considerably be shorten'd to our Hands, and we shall make a great Advance, at once, to-

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wards a friendly Accommodation, in several ensuing Particulars, which have so near a Relation to this.

He mentions many Notions of a Church in those early Times, but fixes upon One only, as * *the usual and common Acceptation of the Word*, and which (he says) *he chiefly treats of*; and therefore, since I mean to differ or dispute as little as I can, I shall pass over most of the other less material Notions of it, at present, (how little soever I can consent to some Particulars in them) and apply myself to consider that main and principal one, which is indeed the great Hinge upon which most of his other Speculations turn.

The Word Church (says † he) *is frequently to be understood of a particular Church, i. e. of a Company of Believers, who at one Time, in one and the same Place, did associate themselves together, and concur in the Participation of all the Institutions and Ordinances of Jesus Christ, with their proper Pastors and Ministers: And in this Sense* (says he) *we must understand the Church of Rome, the Church of Smyrna, the Church of Antioch, the Church of Athens, the Church of Alexandria, or the Church in any other such Place whatsoever, when we meet them in the earliest Writers of the Christian Church.*

This is then his positive Definition of a Primitive particular Church: And to represent all fairly, let us hear his Instances or Authorities for it from the venerable Fathers themselves.

* Pag. 7. § 2.

† Pag. 3. § 2.

selves. He begins with *Irenæus*; for thus (says he) that is, in the Sense which I have given you of a Primitive Church, *Irenæus* mentions that Church which is in *any Place* (*ea quæ est in quoque loco Ecclesia*, or rather, *in quoquo loco*, as I find it in *Iren. l. 2. c. 56.*) Now this, I must confess, is a very dark Authority to me, to prove what kind of Church that holy Father meant by it: If there be any Consequence in it; to the Purpose it is here brought for, it must needs lie in these two plain Words (*quoquo loco*) in *any Place*; and from them, as far as I am able to imagine, it can no otherwise be infer'd, than one of these two ways; either first, That there was no other particular Church at that Time to be in *any Place* whatsoever, but just such an one as this learned Author here quotes this Place to prove for him, which would be such a singular Fallacy in Reasoning (if he should apply it in that Sense) as I can't suppose our ingenious Enquirer can be guilty of: Or else, secondly, it must be, that the Word *Place* has such a scanty Notion necessarily tyed to it, that it would have been no Sense in that learned Father to have meant a larger Circuit by it, than that of an ordinary *Meeting-House* in our modern Phrase: For, if *Place* be such an Affection of Bodies, as conforms itself to every Dimension of the Thing that is apply'd to it, (as I think both Naturalists and Logicians will warrant us to say) then to be said to be in *any Place*, unless the particular Measure of that Place were exprest too, adds nothing in the

least to prove of what Extent that Thing is. So that *Irenaus's Church in any Place*, was such a sort of Church, to be sure, as they then understood a Christian Church to be; but whether Parochial, Diocesan, Provincial, or any other kind whatsoever, as to the Extent or Circuit of it, is not one jot the clearer to me, by his calling it a Church in *any Place*, tho' our more-discerning Enquirer (it seems) saw his own Scheme so visibly lie in it.

His Second Instance of such a Primitive Church, as he has defin'd for us, is taken from an Expression of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, when he was banish'd to *Cephro* in *Lybia*. I'll give it in his own Translation, * *There came so many Christians to him* (says he) *that even there he had a Church*. Here was a Christian Church, it seems, and that in a streight Place of Banishment too; tho' had it been translated a *Christian Assembly* only, I am sure no Wrong had been done to the Original Word; but I sha'n't insist on that. It is concluded, (by applying it in this Place) that it needs must be such a Church as could meet together for religious Worship in one Place only, and no otherwise. I confess, it may be so; and that will prove but little, that this Ancient Father had no other Notion of a particular Christian Church, than such an one as this; or, even that he meant it so, in this very Quotation itself; for, by looking a little farther on in this

* Dionys. Alex. apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 11. p. 259. Πολ-
λὴ σωσιπιδήμησεν Ἐκκλησίᾳ.

this continued Relation of his, I think it will evidently appear, that he makes *his own particular Church* a quite different Thing from it. This I shall consider by and by; only let me first leave one short Remark or two upon this little Church at *Cephro*.

Dionysius himself calls it (in our Author's own Quotation) πολλὴ Ἐκκλησία, that is, in true English, I think, a pretty *numerous Church* at least: *Valesius*, in his Translation, calls it, *magna multitudo Fidelium*, A great Multitude of Believers. *Dionysius* farther says, it consisted of a threefold Concourse of Christians; 1st, of all the Brethren that came from *Alexandria* to him; 2^{dly}, of others that came out of *Egypt* thither; and, 3^{dly}, which I think is worth considering, he tells us, that before he left the Place, ἐκ ὀλίγοι τ' ἐθνῶν, not a few of the Heathens left their Idols, and came over to *his Church*. Not a few, indeed, we have reason to believe, since the humble Confessor himself ventures to speak, as the holy Apostle did upon the like Occasion, that God had open'd a Door to him there to propagate the Gospel amongst them, and he thought he had sent him thither for that very Purpose to convert them. All this amounts not (I own) to an unquestionable *Certainty* of more than a single Congregation at *Cephro*, and I have no Occasion to desire it should; but I think it bids so fair for it, that it looks like little Choice of Authorities in the Case, when we search for such an one as this, to prove that a particular Church in that Age consisted of no more.

But the Truth is, (and I desire it may be noted all along in this Discourse) that the Point in question does not lie here ; Whether there was a Church in that Place (or, indeed, in any other) that *de facto* had but One Congregation to denominate it so; for who doubts but at the first Conversion of the Heathen World, the Number of Believers in some particular Places, might not for some time amount to more than that; and Records of many particular Churches afterwards might be wanting (as our learned Enquirer argues upon a like Occasion in the 148 Page of this Treatise) to set forth the entire State and Condition of such Primitive Churches to us? But the true Question is, Whether if more Congregations than One, had been actually gather'd or converted in any Place whatsoever, and exercised their Offices of Divine Worship in distinct and separate Places from one another, so that their first, proper, and chief Pastor could not be able personally to attend the Service of them all; whether the Property, I say, must in such case be alter'd, and they could no longer be One Church, or be subject to one and the same supreme Ecclesiastical Governor, (call him what we please) but must of necessity be formed then into more particular independent Churches, and a supreme Pastor, unaccountable to the other, (or to any else) must have presided over each of them, and denominated them as many particular Churches, as there were single Assemblies that met together to celebrate the Ordinances of the Christian Church. This, I humbly conceive, our learned Enquirer should have proved from this, or any other

other Authorities he produces hereafter in defence of his own Opinion, if he meant effectually to support his fundamental Scheme by them. And since it no where does appear from one end of his elaborate Enquiry to the other, that he has done so, I must needs say this is such a fundamental Defect, as renders the whole Performance of very little use to that pious Design he professes in it, of reconciling Differences about the Constitution of the Primitive Church.

But 'tis time I make my Promise good, and shew that *Dionysius* himself meant no such Church, even in this very Narrative of his, as he is here quoted for: And this will require that a short Account be first given of the present Condition that holy Confessor was then in. The Case was thus; the persecuting Governor of the Province, breathing out greater Threatnings still against the banish'd Christians, order'd them all to be removed into the inhospitable Region of *Maræotis*, and particularly assign'd the Quarters of *Dionysius* himself at a Place called *Colluthio*; the Holy Bishop was troubled at the Thoughts of this Change; for tho' he knew that Region better than he did the other, yet they talk'd of it as if there were small Hopes of many Christian Brethren, or indeed of any sort of good Men to be found there. But some of the Faithful about me (says he) comforted me in this Distress: And what were the Arguments of Comfort that they offer'd to him? Why, they put me in mind (says he) of this, that *Colluthio* was a Place nearer to the City (of *Alexandria*) still, and tho' I had such Concourse of Brethren at *Cepkro* (says he) that I could

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τῷ τέρειν ἐκκλησιάζειν, that is, have a Church of a very large Compass, even in that remote and desolate Country, yet they told me I should enjoy more constantly, at *Colluthio*, the Company of them I lov'd most, and counted dearest to me in the World ; - for such as those * (they said) would come and make their Abode there, insomuch that there would be Congregations of them in sundry Places up and down, as in so many Suburbs remotely situated from the City ; and this (says he) I found to be very true ; that is, such a Concourse of Christians did resort to him there, and such distinct Assemblies there were of them, during his Abode in that Place. And now, if these distinct Congregations of Believers were under the Spiritual Jurisdiction and Government of *Dionysius* alone, and were peculiarly his Church and his People, as the only Bishop or supreme Ecclesiastical Pastor over them, by whose Order and Direction alone Ministerial Offices could be perform'd to each of them, (as the Historian's Account of that Place and Time does evidently prove him to be) and none but † Presbyters and Deacons (as they are subordinately now taken) are mention'd in the whole Narration besides, some accompanying him in his Troubles, some wandring to and fro in Banishment, and some particularly named with Marks of

* Ἀφίξον) ὃ καὶ ἀναπαύσον), καὶ ὡς ἐν περασείοις πορρότερον κειμήλοις καὶ μέροσ' ἔσον) συναγωγὰς καὶ ἑτέρας ἐκκλησίας. Euseb. ibid.

† Ἠκολέθησθε δέ μοι συμπρεσβύτερός τέ με Μάξιμος, καὶ διάκονοι Φαῦσθ' καὶ Εὐσέβιος, καὶ Χαυρήμων. Euseb. l. 7. c. 11. p. 210.

of Honour, for attending their Charge and Ministry in the City, in the Heat of all the Persecution; besides what *Dionysius* might himself ordain, if the Necessity of his Church requir'd it; then I think it needs no farther Proof, that this holy Confessor, and Father of the Church, could have no such Notion of a particular Church in his Time, as our learned Author's Quotation (out of this very Narrative of his) has imputed to him.

And yet there is one remarkable Passage more in the Sufferings of this holy Confessor, that makes it much clearer still, if need should be. Take it in his own Account of himself, as *Eusebius* has transcribed it from him, in the same Chapter with all that we have heard already. *Germanus* (an invidious Christian Bishop) had, it seems, reproach'd *Dionysius*, as if he had fled and deserted his Church of *Alexandria*, without holding any religious Assemblies before he went off; which was indeed the pious Custom of the Churches then, as often as any Persecution was visibly nigh at hand; to the end that *Catechumens* might be baptiz'd, the *Eucharist* administered to the Faithful, and solemn Exhortations to Constancy and Perseverance left with them all, to prepare and fortify them against the Tryals which were immediately coming upon them. Now, How does the holy Bishop answer this Charge? He first shews that this early Apprehension and sudden Condemnation left no Time or Means for him to perform any one of those Ministerial Offices by himself in Person: But then immediately subjoins, and
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says, that * by God's Assistance he was not wanting in a visible Assembly neither ; but with all Diligence (says he) I order'd those in the City to assemble, as if I had been personally present with them, being absent indeed in the Body, (as it is said) but present in the Spirit with them. Using the Apostle's Phrase, who so govern'd and presided over Churches at a Distance. Here is a solemn Assembly then of the Christians in *Alexandria*, call'd together at the Command of their absent Bishop : And I presume none will think they met on this Occasion, without celebrating some Ordinances at least of religious Worship. Nay, I can't but say, that unless most or all of those holy Offices were perform'd there, which I just now mention'd as customary and necessary to be done in such a Juncture of Time as this was, the holy Confessor had but slightly answer'd the Charge and Accusation it was his Business there to clear. But least of all could he have comforted himself, that by God's Assistance he had caused such a considerable Part of his Cure to assemble there, if the Offices which should minister all the Spiritual Help they then assembled for, were not dispensed to them too. To apply this therefore to the Case in hand.

What manner of Church was this of *Alexandria* at this Time? The Bishop in Exile had several

* Ἀλλ' ἐδὲ τῆς αἰσθητῆς ἡμεῖς μὴ τῆ Κυεῖς σωαγωγῆς ἀπέστημεν· ἀλλὰ παρδαίμεν τὰς μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει σωεκέστην ὡς σωὸν· ἀπὸν μὴ τῷ σώματι, ὡς εἶπον, [or, ὡς εἶπεν, as some Copies have it] παρὼν ὃ τῷ πνεύματι. Euseb. ib. p. 211.

veral Congregations of his Flock in and about the Place where his miserable Banishment had confin'd him: The Presbyters in his Absence, and by his Order and Authority, hold a religious Assembly in the City itself: One only Bishop all this while issues out Precepts and Acts, as chief Pastor and Governor of these distinct and so far distant Congregations, and is by the general Language of the Catholick Church, and of the Authentick Historians of that Time, entitled Bishop (without Partner or Competitor) of the Particular Church of *Alexandria*.

If this be consistent with the Definition of such a Particular Church, as this Primitive Father was produced to bear witness to, and that in this very Narrative of his, where all that I have here offer'd is recorded by his own Hand, I am afraid such Enquiries into Antiquity will help but little to settle a wavering Mind about the true Constitution of the Church.

There is one Instance more brought by our learned Author, to shew that the Word *Church* was anciently taken in his Sense; and because 'tis a short one, I shall not pass it by, tho' 'tis more surprizing to me than both the others. 'Tis from *Tertullian's Exhortat. ad Castit.* where that Father says, *Ubi tres, Ecclesia est; Where three are together, there we have a Church*: Now to stop at a Comma, after four single Words, in any Quotation, where two Words more would bring him to a full Period, and explain the Author's Meaning too, is a little strange to me; for *Tertullian's* whole Sentence is only this, *Ubi tres, Ecclesia est, licet laici*, that is, *Where three are, there a Church is, though they be all but Laymen*:

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men: And is it not strange to any Man, as well as me, that such an extraordinary Church as this, with but three Lay-men in it, should be brought to explain the Primitive Notion of a particular Church associating together with their *Pastors* and *Ministers* for Participation of the Ordinances and Institutions of Christ? And yet to this very Quotation our ingenious Enquirer immediately subjoins; *In this Sense* (says he) *we must understand the Church of Rome, of Smyrna, of Antioch, and in short, in any other such Place whatsoever.*

There is an Observation in our inquisitive Author's 4th Notation of a Church, particularly calculated for the Use of his own Scheme, and therefore must briefly be consider'd: He observes * there, that he never met with the Word *Church* used in the Singular Number by any of the Fathers for a Collection of many particular Churches, except once only in † Cyprian, who mentions the Church of God in Africa and Numidia. Now there is something in Irenaus (quoted by himself too in the very next Leaf) which looks very like it; for all the Christian Churches which were gather'd from among the Gentiles, that learned Father expresses by a Church, in the Singular Number, (the Expression you have in the Margin ||, as quoted to my Hand in the 7th Page of the Enquiry) and that implies a Collection of Churches sure beyond all Exception. But the Truth is, I am not aware

* Pag. 4.

† Cyp. Ep. 71. § 4.

|| *Ea quæ ex Gentibus est Ecclesia.* Iren. l. 4. c. 37.

were in the least what Advantage this can be to the Point in Question, to observe that a particular Church is ordinarily exprest in the Singular Number, since 'tis a natural Expression for it, and no otherwise explains the Constituent Parts of it, than to say, 'tis a Church somewhere in some Place or another, which how much it clears up the Notion of it, we have seen before. Nor is it of better Use to observe, that National or Provincial Churches are usually exprest in the Plural Number, since it affords no Evidence at all to prove what manner of Churches they were, that were comprehended under them, which is the only Point in question.

I make no doubt, but our Author's Suggestion in it is this, That if a particular Church had more Congregations than One in it, it would surely be exprest in the Plural Number; and why? Because a single Congregation and a particular Church (he would have us take for granted) were one and the same thing in the Sense and Language of the Ancients; which tho' he has not prov'd yet, (and I think by the little already said, he will find it hard to do) yet this is an early Preparation for it, and something like begging the Question beforehand; therefore I thought it not improper to take a little Notice of it, especially since in Matter of Fact 'tis a mere Oversight of the Enquirer; for I shall shew Instances to the contrary in the Beginning of the next Chapter.

The Notion of a Primitive Church thus cleared, as we have seen, he proceeds in a regular and proper Method, to enquire into the Constituent

stituent Parts of it, and to consider the particular Offices, together with the joint and several Acts of the respective Members of the Church he has before defin'd for us.

I am willing to set out, and go along with him as far as Truth and Primitive Authorities (fairly represented) will give me Leave to do. His first Division of the Members of a Church is just and unexceptionable; he distinguishes them both as primitive and modern Christians do, into *Clergy* and *Laity*, shutting out *Tertullian's* wild Conceit now, (tho' offer'd unawares before) as a Notion of a Church wholly unaccountable. * His Division of the Clergy afterwards into their particular Orders and Degrees (as far as Names and Titles go) is as Orthodox and Primitive as the other: For *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons* (so call'd at least by him) are as approv'd Ecclesiastical Officers in his singular Scheme, as, in a genuine and properer Distinction of them, we are sure they always were in every true Church of Christ since the Apostles Times. But I am sorry to say here, that this close Adhering to a Primitive Form of Words, without retaining faithfully the Primitive and Genuine Signification of them, is only a more plausible and dangerous Way of setting off Mistakes, and makes Men lose the Truth, without being sensible how it steals away. And this, I am afraid, will prove the Case of our ingenious Enquirer himself, and has caused his Performance to pass so insensibly with others; because there are some

some Shades of Antiquity in the Draught, tho', nearly examined, but very few natural and original Lines are to be found. And when you have seen *what Bishops and Priests* he has settled in his Church, what Offices, Acts, and Powers he has assign'd to the several Members of it, you will need no other Light to discover this by, or to discern the Difference between *Things* and *Names*.

To proceed then; he seems fairly to derive all Power and Authority in the Church from the true Fountain of it, our Blessed Lord himself, and his inspir'd Apostles commission'd and empower'd by him to plant and govern Churches: But the Manner of their conveying this Power to others, either for Assistance or Succession to themselves in their great Charge, (which is a main Part of this Enquiry) I am afraid will not appear so plain. Let us see his Thoughts of it.

He begins with quoting two Authorities from Antiquity, to shew the Apostles Method of constituting Pastors and Governors in the Churches they gather'd. The first is from *Clemens Romanus*, (in his 1st Ep. *ad Cor.* p. 54.) where that Father says, *The Apostles went forth preaching in City and Country*, [as our Enquirer is pleas'd to translate and place the Words] but in * *Countries and Cities*, [as it is in *Clemens* himself; and perhaps that slight Variation has some Use in it afterwards, and therefore the Greek Words are omitted in his Quotation] ap-
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* Κατὰ χώρας ἐν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον
τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν—εἰς ἑπισκόπους καὶ Διακόνους, &c.
Clem. Rom. Ep. 1. ad Cor. p. 54.

pointing the First-Fruits of their Ministry for Bishops and Deacons. Thus far Clemens: To which our Enquirer adds, that the Apostles generally left those Bishops and Deacons to govern those particular Churches over which they had placed them, whilst they themselves pass'd forward, &c. Now, if he means that they left them always as supreme Church - Governors there, I conceive the Holy Scriptures will be clear against him; for that Supremacy of Power over all the Apostolical Churches, for the greatest part, at least, of the Apostles Lives, was reserved in their own Hands, by which S. Paul so justly imputed to himself * the Care of all the Churches; and his Commands, Censures, and peremptory Precepts (so visible in most of his Epistles to them) do evidently prove the same; and therefore, whatsoever Assistants they were to the Apostles by their Ministry and Regulation of the Churches under them, they could not be Ecclesiastical Officers invested with a Plenitude of Church-Power: I only note this here (which must be more at large consider'd afterwards) for the sake of his second Authority immediately quoted from Tertullian, to the same Intent with this: For thus (says he) Tertullian saith, Clemens was ordained Bishop of Rome by S. Peter, and Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna by S. John.

Now, see here, how the fundamental Mistake insinuates itself, as it were, at unawares. Here are two Quotations brought to prove that the Apostles themselves ordain'd Pastors and
Spiritual

* 2 Cor. xi. 28.

Spiritual Officers in the several Churches they planted; and because the Name of *Bishop* is attributed to them in both Places, therefore they are to pass for Church-Officers, not only equal in their Apostolical Institution, but in the Fullness of their Commission, Powers, and Order too. Here lies the secret Spring, indeed, that governs the Motions of the whole Discourse; and if it were set right by an even and unbiass'd Hand, the Controversy would move in a regular and uniform Manner on both sides, till the Adversaries met (I verily believe) in a blessed Harmony and Consent with one another. For if these Apostolical Church-Officers (express'd only by a common Name with one another) were but understood to be of a *different Order* and Degree by the very Tenor of their first Commission, as to the Extent of Powers, Prerogatives, and Jurisdiction, convey'd and assign'd to each of them, (as I think the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus* alone would satisfy a sober Christian, that such a Difference there really was) the most entangled Knot of the Dispute would then be untied, and probably whole Churches and Nations of divided Christians now, would (to the unspeakable Joy of all good Men) go hand in hand to the House of God together, upon the settling of that single Point alone.

What unexceptionable Authorities there are in the venerable Records of Antiquity for it, besides the holy Scriptures themselves, and the uninterrupted Harmony of the Catholick Church in it, before the modern Innovation at *Geneva* against it, I shall have Occasion enough to observe

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in the Sequel of this Discourse; and I shall only shew here, what considerable Reasons our ingenious Enquirer has given *in this very Treatise of his* to persuade *himself*, and all other Sons of Peace, (like him) to consent to this Distinction.

The first Reason I observe from him is this, that for want of thus acknowledging this Difference of Order and Prerogative in the Church-Officers ordain'd by the Apostles Hands, he has brought a perplexing Difficulty upon himself, and set the Holy Scriptures and Primitive Fathers of the Church at a *seeming* Variance (at least) and well-nigh palpable Contradiction with one another: For thus he tells us, in the very next Paragraph after the two Quotations above-mention'd; * *Whether (says he) in the Apostolical and Primitive Days there were more Bishops than one in a Church, at first sight seems difficult to resolve; that the Holy Scriptures, and Clemens Romanus mention many in one Church, (says he) is certain; and, on the other hand, it is as certain, that Ignatius, Tertullian, Cyprian, and the following Fathers, affirm, that there was and ought to be but One: These Contradictions and seeming Difficulties (as he calls them) he takes the pains of writing his elaborate Enquiry in hopes to reconcile. Surely, he had some extraordinary Inclination to solve them in a peculiar and different way from others: For,*

The second Reason I observe from him for reconciling all at once, is, because he shews us
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* See Enquiry, &c. p. 11. § 5.

a more plain, natural, and truly primitive Way than that, in one single Passage of his Book before us. You may find it in his 4th Chapter, P. 65. of this Enquiry; where his Assertion is, that *the first who express'd these Church-Officers by the distinct Terms of Bishops and Presbyters, was Ignatius, who lived in the Beginning of the second Century.* And from hence I crave Leave to observe these three Things.

1st, That as often as we meet with the Word Bishop or Presbyter in the Holy Scriptures, we cannot, by the Term itself, determine which of the two, according to the more *distinct* Language of the Ages immediately following, we must necessarily understand by it; unless the Context, or some peculiar Circumstance besides, does more clearly explain it to us. And,

2dly, That the same Latitude of Signification must for the same Reason be allow'd to *Clemens Romanus's* Bishops and Presbyters too, because that holy Bishop * suffer'd Martyrdom before *Ignatius's* Epistles were written; wherein the different and determinate Sense of those Words (as our learned Enquirer affirms) were first establish'd in the Church. And therefore,

3dly, 'Tis but doing Justice to *Tertullian* in his Quotation, and allowing him and all the Fathers after him to mean by their Bishops such as the whole Church did then understand, when the Pre-eminence of that Name above the Name of Presbyters was fully settled; and to inter-

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* Clem. Rom. martyr'd, A. D. 100. S. Ignatius sent to Rome, and in his Way writing his Epistles, A. D. 107 See Dr. Cave's Chron. of the three first Centuries.

pret S. *Clemens's* Bishops by that unwarrantable Latitude of Signification which is acknowledg'd to have been in general Use in his Time, and consequently no Violence or Injustice is done to his Quotations, if we take them to be meant of such Bishops, as were afterwards determinately named and allowed to be no others than common Presbyters, in Subordination to a higher Church-Officer (as to be sure they were at their first Ordination in the Apostles Times) and then the great Perplexity and doubtful Contradiction of the Holy Scriptures and Venerable Fathers, about one or more Bishops in one and the same Church at a time, does naturally (and in perfect Analogy to the Sense and Language of the Primitive Church) resolve and reconcile itself. For, that many such Bishops (indifferently call'd Presbyters in the Holy Scriptures and first Age of the Church) were placed by the Apostles in particular Churches, is agreed (I think) by all: But that more Presbyters than one of that determinate Order or Degree, which were peculiarly call'd Bishops afterwards, such as *Clemens* placed by S. *Peter* at Rome, or S. *Polycarp* by S. *John* at Smyrna, were ever ordain'd or settled by an Apostle in any particular Church of theirs, I think I may freely say, is no where to be read in all primitive Antiquity; and our Author's own Quotation from *Tertullian* here is one very pregnant Instance of the Thing.

Thus have I shewn what a Peaceable and Authentick Way (agreeable to the Sense and Writings of the early Ages our Enquirer appeals to) he himself has pointed out for us to compro-

compromise that Difference ; and his Labouring to do it in a more intricate and unprecedented Way, I am afraid, will never attain his pious Ends of Peace and Unity so well.

However, in the very next Breath, he fixes upon this for a sure Truth, that there was but one *Supreme Bishop* in a Place. This *seems* a very Orthodox and Primitive Assertion : But why such singular Difference, in the Expression itself, from the common Language of the holy Fathers within his own three Centuries ? They speak often enough of but one Bishop in a Church ; but of one *Supreme Bishop* in a Church, I don't remember I have ever read in their Writings. Nay, his own Quotations in this very Place (as you may see them in the* Margin here) bear witness for me, that the Venerable S. Cyprian and Cornelius did not express themselves so : And besides, the former of these in the Name of eighty seven African Bishops, then in Council with him, declar'd, that † *none of them were Bishops over Bishops*. What are we to understand then by this *Supreme Bishop*, who is to be but Bishop of a single Church too ? The Answer is plain : The common Language of the Primitive Fathers would not do here ; it would not suit with the following Scheme of

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this

* *Unus in ecclesiâ ad tempus sacerdos.* Cyp. Ep. 55. § 6. [or Ep. 59. p. 129. Edit. Oxon.]

Οὐκ ἡπίσατο ἕνα Ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. *Ad Fabium Antioch. apud Euseb. l. 6. p. 43.*

† Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se Episcoporum constituit. *Concil. Carthag. in præfat. apud Cypr. p. 229. Edit. Oxon.*

this Enquiry. For when those Fathers named a Bishop of a Church, they needed no Epithet of a Superlative Degree to distinguish him from any other Ecclesiastical Officer within the Church, but concluded the Original Order he was of, did that of course for them. But our learned Author, who discerns what Primitive Antiquity never saw, viz. That every Presbyter who minister'd in any Church, had receiv'd Episcopal Authority by Apostolical Institution or Succession, as properly and truly as any Bishop in the Catholick Church whatsoever, (which he positively affirms to be so, p. 70. of this Enquiry) stood in need of such a distinguishing Epithet for his single Bishop indeed; and as his Phrase appears to be thus plainly singular and new, so we may well expect, that the Notion itself, upon which it is grounded, (which I shall not here prevent myself from considering in its Place) will appear to be so too.

In the mean time, that Orthodox Observation he makes immediately after this, seems somewhat extraordinary, if it were but only for the Timing it. He had just said, there was but one Supreme Bishop in a Church, tho' (as I shew'd just now) there might be many more Bishops there of Apostolical Institution by their Order (in his Sense of them) as well as that one; and yet forthwith he observes to us, that by the *Διαδοχαί*, or Succession of Bishops, ordain'd by the Apostles, the Orthodox were wont to prove the Succession of their Faith, and the Novelty of that of Hereticks; and quotes

two warrantable Authorities from *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* (here noted in the * Margin) for it.

Here was an early Occasion given indeed for his singular Distinction (if he could have warranted it) of a *Supreme Bishop*, amongst many other Apostolical Bishops in the same Church together. For without that, this great Catholic Test to try the true Faith by, would have proved no *Test* at all: For if more Bishops than one, of equal original Order and Apostolical Institution too, were ordinarily in the same particular Church together, (as our learned Author does affirm) then to prove the Orthodoxy of a Church's Faith, by the Succession of one particular Apostolical Bishop in a Church, had no Consequence in it at all; because some other of those Apostolically ordained Bishops might possibly be at the Head of an Heretical Congregation too, and then the Original Order and Succession of *These* might have been as warrantable

* *Edant originem Ecclesiarum suarum, evoluant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit autorem & antecessorem: hoc enim modo Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ census suos deferunt; sicut Smyrnæorum Ecclesiæ habens Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum; proinde utique cæteræ exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos, Apostolici seminis traduces habeant. De Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 78. [or p. 243. Edit. Rigalt. Lutet. 1641.]*

Ad eam traditionem quæ est ab Apostolis, quæ per successiones Presbyterorum [or successiones Episcoporum, as it is in the next Chapter] in Ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos. Iren. Lib. 3. c. 2.

rantable an Argument for *Them*, as the like could be for the other; and by that means, Heresy and the true Faith would have stood upon an equal Bottom with one another: This surely must have been the Case, according to our learned Author's modern Scheme, unless this cautious Epithet of *Supreme* had been expressly annexed to that particular Bishop, upon whom this Rule of Orthodox Succession did depend. And how *Tertullian* and *Irenaus* could so indefinitely appeal to such an Episcopal Succession as this, and fix no Mark of Distinction at all upon the Bishops they peculiarly meant, is not otherwise to be accounted for, but that no such Distinction of Supreme and Subordinate or Assisting Bishops was ever known in their Time; and so the Test in general Terms was evident and plain enough to all the Christian World then.

This Chapter closes with one Remark more, which seems of so indifferent a Nature, that one would be apt to pass it over; but because (like all the rest before) it is calculated for some greater Uses which will be made of it afterwards, it must not be overlook'd. The Remark is only this, (p. 14.) *The Titles* (says he) *of this Supreme Church-Officer are most of them reckon'd up in one Place by Cyprian, which are,* * *Bishop, Pastor, President, Governor, Superintendent,* [so he translates *Antistes*] *and Priest;* and farther, (says he) *This is he which in the Revelations is called the Angel of his Church,* as
Origen

* *Episcopus, Præpositus, Pastor, Gubernator, Antistes, Sacerdos.* Cyp. Ep. 69. § 5. [or Ep. 66. p. 167. Edit. Oxon.]

Origen thinks, which Appellations denote both his Authority and Office, his Power and Duty, &c. Now would not any common Reader be apt to think, that these are the appropriated Titles of his Supreme Church-Officer? and that whenever he met with them in S. Cyprian's Writings, or any other of such Primitive Antiquity as his, he must always understand that Supreme Church-Officer by them? else why so carefully noted here? But no such thing, 'tis quite the contrary; for in his 4th Chapter, from p. 64 to p. 68, he labours with much Reading and great Zeal to prove, that most of all these Supreme Titles were equally given, and did of Right belong, to any Presbyter whatsoever in the Christian Church. And what's the Meaning, would one think, of this extraordinary Way of arguing? why the Case is plain; All the Presbyters in any Church whatsoever are in that place to be owned for Primitive Bishops, without any farther Authority or Ordination for it than they had before; and amongst other great Reasons for that extraordinary Assertion, this is to be a considerable one, that the same Name is very familiarly used by the Ancients to express them both by: So that having first possess'd his Reader here, that these fore-mentioned Titles are peculiarly Bishops Titles, and then shewing him there, that many of them are often attributed to Presbyters, the Inference will go smoothly down, that they are unquestionable Bishops too; and I will only add, that by this Argument they must every one of them be Supreme Bishops also. For his Chief or Supreme Bishop was first set apart by him to

preside

preside over the whole Church he had assigned for him, before he attributed these several Titles to him; and then if they are common to others afterwards, those others must be chief too, so far as those Titles can make them Bishops at all. And this is more (I think) than our Enquirer's own Scheme can allow them to be; and consequently, this Remark will not conclude the Thing for which it was designed.

By what has been said, I hope it may appear with what Caution this first Chapter of the learned Enquiry should be read: If I have been thought long in it, 'tis because I found it true, that the whole Discourse would very much depend upon it. A right Notion of a Primitive Church is the very Ground-work that all is to be built upon; this was undertaken to be settled here; how well it is performed, I leave now to others to determine.

C H A P. II.

THE great Point to be cleared in the 2d Chapter is this, that *as there was but one Bishop in a Church, (says he) so there was but one Church to a Bishop.* This is Primitive Language indeed, and would be Primitive Truth too, if the singular Notion of a particular Church before, had not turned a Catholick Maxim into an Equivocal Proposition; for by *his Bishop's Church*, we know he means a single Congregation. And from one Observation of his, which he here remarks to us, he would have us assured, that

that the Primitive Fathers meant so too. His Observation is this, That the ancient Dioceses are never said to contain *Churches* in the Plural, but only a Church in the Singular; now what they contained in them (whether one or more of such Churches as his) his * Quotations say nothing of; but they shew indeed, that a Bishop's Church was usually express'd and named then in the Singular Number; and I will only add this Observation to it, That they were just so express'd and named too in after Ages of the Church, as well as in the first and earliest of them all. In the 4th Century, under *Constantine* the Great, 'tis notorious how the Churches multiply'd in the Number of their People and their Oratories too, yet the celebrated Diocese of *Antioch* is called no more than † *the single Church of Antioch still*; for so that Emperor himself styles it in his Letter to *Eusebius*, where he applauds his Humility for not exchanging his lesser Diocese of *Cæsarea* for it. *Eusebius* || calls the Mother-Diocese of Jerusalem no otherwise than so, in the same Century, and about the same Time. In later Ages you'll find the Language of the Church holds the same still; for the Council of *Carthage* under *Theodosius* and *Honorius*, in the 5th Century, calls the extensive Diocese of *S. Augustin*,

* See his Quotations in pag. 15 of the Enquiry.

† Τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιοχείαν Ἐκκλησίας. Euseb. in vit. Constant. l. 3. c. 61.

|| Τῇ τῇ Ἐκκλησίας τῇ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἐπισκόπῳ. Ibid. cap. 29.

gustin, * the Church of Hippo only, in the Singular Number. And (to come nearer home, and be short in so clear a Point as this is, which I have spoken to in the former Chapter) the Venerable † *Bede* in his Church-History of our native Country, ordinarily calls both larger or lesser Dioceses in the Land (whether of *Canterbury*, *York*, *Rocheſter*, or the like) by this Primitive Name of the ſingle Church of each of thoſe Places; and that there were more than barely one Congregation of Believers in each or any of theſe fore-mentioned Churches, I believe will not be made a Queſtion: And therefore what Argument can be grounded on this remarkable Obſervation, I confeſs I don't ſee. Yet after all, the Obſervation is not juſt or true; for || *Eusebius* names the Church of *Alexandria*, *Gaza*, *Emeſa*, &c. in the Plural Number, and their Biſhop in the Singular. [See the Quotations in the Margin.]

A more popular one, but of no more Force or Evidence in it, is that which follows; drawn from the Sound alone, and not the Senſe, of a ſingle Word. § *The Ancients* (ſays he) frequently denominated their Biſhop's Cure by the Greek Word Παροικία. The modern *English* uſe that Word now to expreſs a *Parish* by (approaching very near in Sound indeed to one another.) And

* Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἱππώνων.

† *Dorovernenſis* Eccleſiæ Amiſtes. *Bede's Eccl. Hiſt.* l. 2. c. 18. *Tobias Hroſſenſis Eccleſiæ præſul*, *Wilfridus in Eboracenſi Eccleſiâ*. Ibid l. 5. c. 24.

|| Of *Alexand.* See *Euseb.* l. 5. c. 9. Of *Emeſa and Gaza*. See *Euseb.* l. 8. c. 13.

§ See *Enq.* p. 15.

And hence he concludes it very probable, at least, that a Bishop's Cure then, and an *English* Parish now, were both the same Thing; nay he positively * affirms, that our present Sense of the Word is the very same that the ancient Christians took it in; and lays a great Stress upon the genuine Signification of the Word itself for it.

Now, before I give any Account of the Use or Meaning of this Primitive Word *Παροικία* for a Christian Church, I hope I need not say, that whatever gave Occasion for the Use of it, it could have no respect to any Language *then* or *now* in Use amongst us of this Nation; it would be too absurd so much as to imagine such a thing; and therefore to suggest the modern Affinity of the Words, by way of Argument in the Case, is directly to amuse only, where we undertake to instruct.

The truest Method I know, to learn the Idiom or Propriety of a Primitive Ecclesiastical Word, is by one or all of these three Ways. Either,

1st, By the Sense it bears in the Holy Scriptures, if we find it there. Or,

2^{dly}, By the continued Use of it in the Christian Church for some time afterwards. Or,

3^{dly}, By the common Signification of it in the Original Language from whence it is taken. And by these three Tests I shall try at present what the Word *Παροικία* anciently might mean.

In Holy Scripture I find it used by *S. Luke*, to denote a temporary Residence of a Stranger in

* *Ib.* p. 16, 17.

in a Place remote from home. For in the Question of *Cleopas* to our blessed Lord after his Resurrection, * *Art thou only a Stranger in Jerusalem, &c.* The original Words are *Σὺ μόνον παροικεῖς Ἱερουσαλὴμ*; which evidently includes this *Παροικία* in it, as the immediate Theme from whence it comes; and should it be render'd with any Analogy to the Member of a Parish, or such-like Society in the City, the holy Penman's Sense would be very singular and unintelligible indeed. Again, *S. Paul* uses it in the very same Sense and Signification afterwards; (*Ephes. ii. 19.*) *You are no longer Strangers and Foreigners*, says he, calling his Foreigners there by the Name of *Πάροικοι* which if we should take it in our learned Enquirer's Sense, must be render'd *very near Neighbours*, (at least) *or Fellow-Members of one and the same Society together*; which I think directly inverts the Meaning of the Holy Apostle; and other such-like Instances there are.

So that the Holy Scriptures (you see) suggested a very different Notion of the Word *Παροικία* to the Primitive Christians; and such an one as should sufficiently warrant, and (one would think) give fair Occasion to those *Heavenly-minded Saints* to denominate their first Societies and Churches from it; since they ordinarily look'd upon themselves as meer Sojourners and Foreigners in the World, and were no otherwise accounted by the Heathen round about them. But,

Secondly,

* *Luke xxiv. 18.*

Secondly, We often meet with the Word *Ναποκία* both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers for several Ages afterwards, denoting the same thing with a Diocese of many Parishes and Congregations in it; which farther proves that the Ecclesiastical Sense of the Word had not so narrow a Notion in it, till particular Places determinately made it so.

In the Code of the *African* Church, publish'd both in *Greek* and *Latin* by *Justellus*, we meet with *Diœcesis* in one Language, render'd by *Ναποκία* in the other. Thus it is in the Title of the * 56th Canon, and again and again in the Body of the Canon itself. So *S. Jerome*, translating an Epistle of *S. † Epiphanius* to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, expresses both their large Dioceses (as they surely were then) by the Word *Parochia* only. *S. ‖ Augustin*, in his Epistle to Pope *Celestin*, tells him, that the Town of *Fussala* was forty Miles distant from *Hippo*, yet both the Place itself and the Country round about it, did before his time belong to the *Parœchia* of his Church of *Hippo*. And to come home to ourselves, the Venerable *§ Bede* calls

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calls

* *Vide Christ. Justell. Can. Ecclesiæ Africanæ, in Can. 56. Edit. Paris, 1614.*

† *Vide Epiphan. Ep. ad Johan. Hierosol. inter opera Hieron. Vol. 2. Tom. 3. Fol. 71. Edit. Erasim. Basil. Item in Epiphanii Tom. 2. pag. 312. Edit. Petav. Colon. 1682.*

‖ *Vide August. opera à Theolog. Lovan. Edit. Colon. Agrip. 1616. Tom. 2. p. 325. Ep. 261. Fussala simul contigua sibi regione ad Parœciam Hipponensis Ecclesiæ pertinebat.*

— *Et infra, ab Hippone millibus quadraginta sejungitur.*

§ *Provincia Australium Saxonum ad civitatis Ventanæ parochiam pertinebat. Bede Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 19.*

calls the Dioceſe of *Wincheſter* by the ſame Name, even when the whole Province of the *South Saxons* did belong to it. And then whether the Word *Dioceſe* (ſo cuſtomarily uſed for Secular Diſtricts and Provinces in the Empire) were immediately adopted into the Church or no, I think it argues little; ſince when it was received, Church-Writers themſelves made no Scruple to uſe both *Diœceſis* and *Parochia* oftentimes as Terms ſynonymous in ſundry Ages and Nations where *Diocesan* Diſtricts were eſta-bliſhed, which makes it plain enough that 'twas not with reference to Circuit or Extent of Churches, that they uſed either, till later Set-tlements gave more appropriated Senſes to them, as in ſundry other Eccleſiaſtical Terms it is obvious enough to be obſerved and ſeen. But then,

Thirdly, The very Signification of the Word *Παροιμία*, our learned Author will aſſure us, does make all clear: For it ſignifies (* ſays he) *a Dwelling-one by another, as Neighbours do, or an Habitation in one and the ſame Place*. But here I muſt take leave to ſay, (and I hope ſhall prove it too) that it is taken in a very different Senſe by Writers of unqueſtionable Authority, and by Gloſſaries and Criticks in the *Greek Language* is ſufficiently warranted to be ſo.

The inquiſitive *Suicer* † in his firſt Obſervation on the Word *Παροιμέω*, renders it by the

Latin

* *Ibid.* p. 16.

† *Suicer* in vocib. *Παροιμέω* & *Παροιμία*. *Παροιμέω* ſignificat *Advena peregrinus ſum*, & opponitur *πρὸς κατοικέω*, quod, juxta veteres Gloſſas, *Habito, incolo*.

Latin, [*Advena*, or *Peregrinus sum*] that is, (as the inspir'd Penmen, I shew'd you before, always use it in the Holy Scriptures) *I am a Stranger or Foreigner in any Place*. But this is not all; he adds immediately, that this very Word is put in direct Opposition to *κατοικεῖν*, which, according to ancient Glosses, (says he) signifies *to dwell*, or *have an Habitation in any Place*: And is this any thing more or less, than downright Opposition to our learned Enquirer's peremptory Interpretation of it? And what this judicious Glossary does thus affirm, he makes good by the unexceptionable Authorities of * *Philo Judæus*, † *S. Basil the Great*, ‖ *Theodore*t, and others, whose particular Quotations you have here noted in the Margin, which make it clearer still.

I am sensible, it may be alledg'd, that the Greek Preposition, [*παρά*] when join'd in Composition with another Word, (as it is here) does often signify the same as [*juxta*] with the Latins, that is, *nigh*, or *near to any Place*. And this I take to be the sole Motive indeed, that induc'd our learned Author to make this positive Construction of the Word. But let § *Devarius* (that accurate Critick in the Particles

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of

* *Philo Judæus de Sacrif. Abel & Cain*. 'Ο τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μύνοις ἐπ' ἀνέχων πατρικῇ σοφίᾳ, ἔ κατοικεῖ.

† *Basil. m. in Ps. 14. t. l. p. 149*. Ἡ πατρικία οὐ διαγωγὴν πρέσκαυθ.

‖ *Theodore*t. in *Ps. 119. p. 911*. Πατρικίαν καλεῖ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτεία διαγωγὴν.

§ *Vide Matth. Devarii, lib. de Græc. Ænig. particul. Edit. du Gard. A. D. 1657. Pag. 206.*

36 An Original Draught of

of the *Greek Tongue*) be heard in this Case; and he will teach us, that we can't, with any Authority, attribute such a determinate Sense to it: For his Note upon it is this, ἡ *παρὰ* (says he) *non solum τὸ ἐγὼς, sed etiam τὸ πέρα καὶ ἔξω significat*; that is, the Preposition *παρὰ* does not only signify *nigh*, or *near to*, but also *beyond*, or from *abroad*, and *without*, according to the different Phrase or Authors we may meet it in; which sufficiently justifies the above-mention'd ancient Writer's using it (even in this very Word before us) in direct Opposition to that of dwelling nigh one another in one and the same Place.

But too much of this; for I ever took Criticism to be a slender Way of arguing in so great a Subject as this is; only I found no Help for it here, the Determination was so positive in the Case, and such smooth Insinuations advanc'd upon the Plausibility of a single Word.

To pass then from *Words* to *Things*; that if the bare Name does not satisfy, we may, at least, by some following Observations of Matter of Fact, consent to his main Assertion, *That a * Bishop's Diocese and a modern Parish were the same, as in Name, so in Thing*: That is, let Scripture, Fathers, and History, say what they will of the numerous Conversions wrought by the blessed Apostles themselves, by their inspir'd Fellow-Labourers and Successors in the Ministry of the Gospel, either in *Jerusalem*, *Judea*, or throughout the Heathen World; yet the utmost Result of all their Labours amounted

* *Eng. p. 17.*

mounted to no more, for 300 Years together, than just to such a competent Society of Believers, as could be enclos'd within the Walls of a single Oratory, in any of the largest Cities upon Earth, (including the adjacent Territories too.)

I wish our learned Author had begun his Proof of this, where the Church itself began, and had thought *Jerusalem* (the Mother-Church of all) as worthy of his Notice as any of the rest, and Scripture Evidence as fit to be consider'd, as other Authorities he is pleas'd to use. But he has cautiously declin'd both one and t'other: For in his three first Chapters, wherein the whole Parochial Scheme is finish'd, we find but * one slight Reference to Holy Writ, and that of no Importance to the Case, nor any Text so much as nam'd at all; and amongst all the particular Churches he chose to treat of, (which are pretty many) that of *Jerusalem* (which the whole College of Apostles jointly founded, as it were a Model for the rest) is not so much as nam'd. Was this for want of Matter, can we think, suitable to the Subject of his *Enquiry* there? or rather, that the Stream of Evidence ran too strong against his whole Hypothesis in them both? Is it so obvious to common Sense, as not to deserve a little Notice, and plainer Explication of it, (in his Way) how the many Thousands from time to time converted in *Jerusalem* alone, and the daily Increase of them, (as it is specify'd in the Texts here noted

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in the Margin) * should commodiously, or indeed possibly worship God in one and the same Place together, since they neither had the capacious Temple, (to be sure) or any other Place, that should be too much taken Notice of, to hold such a numerous, and indeed unconceivable Assembly in? And yet S. James, † (the Bishop of this Church himself) in a few Years after, calls those Thousands of converted Jews by the multiplied Number of *Myriads of them*, Acts xxi. 20.

The inspir'd Penmen, who relate all this, had little Reason to record in Sacred Writ, or to amuse Posterity with the Number, Method, or Nature of the Churches, Oratories, or Meeting-Houses, (call them what we please) wherein those Multitudes of blessed Converts held Assemblies for the Offices and Mysteries of their new Religion, (tho' *their Breaking Bread from House to House*, the Churches mention'd in *private and particular Houses* there, are no imperfect Intimations of it, whatever other Interpretations may be forc'd upon them.)

But

* Acts i. 15. *The Number of the Names together were about 120.* Acts ii. 41. *There were added to them about 3000 Souls.* Ver. 47. *The Lord added daily to the Church such as should be saved.* Acts iv. 4. (Peter and John preaching afterwards upon healing of the Cripple) *Many of them which heard, believed; and the Number of Men was about 5000.* Acts v. 14. *Believers were the more added to the Lord both of Men and Women.* Acts vi. 7. *Still the Word of God increased, and the Number of Disciples multiply'd in Jerusalem greatly; and a great Company of the Priests were obedient to the Faith.*

† Θεωρεῖς, ἀδελφοί, πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσὶν Ἰσραήτων
 ἡμεῖς πεπισκότων. Acts xxi. 20.

But, be that as it will, the Matter of Fact which They tell us, commands our Faith; and if common Sense and Reason can contract such Numbers into a single Congregation, all their other Writings, I'm afraid, will feel the dangerous Effect of such an extraordinary Sort of commenting upon them.

Tertullian says more than all this still, and that of every Place in general too: * The Numbers of Christians, in his early Age, were well nigh the greater Part of every City; for so he frankly tells the persecuting *Scapula*, who was not to be jested with. And again, to all the *Roman* Magistrates, in his Apology, he glories in the Multitudes of his Profession, thus: † *We are of Yesterday*, (says he) yet every Place is fill'd with us, your Cities, the Islands, the Forts, your Corporations, the Councils, the Armies, the Tribes and Companies; yea, the Palace, Senate, and Courts of Justice; your Temples only have we left you free. Should we go off and separate from you, you'd stand amaz'd at your own Desolation, be affrighted at the Stop and Deadness of Affairs amongst you; and you'd have more Enemies than

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Subjects

* *Tanta hominum multitudo, pars pæne major cujusq; civitatis.* *Tertul. ad Scap. c. 2. p. 86.*

† *Hesterni sumus, & vestra omnia implevimus; urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum; sola vobis reliquimus templa.* *Tertul. Apol. p. 33. cap. 37.* Si tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abrupissemus à vobis ——— proculdubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum, & stuporem quendam quasi mortui orbis. *Id. ib.*

Subjects left you. An incomprehensible Account, sure! if the biggest City in the Empire had no more than a single Congregation in it.

Let me add a Hint or two from the excellent *Eusebius* to the same Purpose here: That accurate Historian, when he speaks in general of the Primitive Christian Churches in every City and Country, about the Close of the Apostolick Age, uses such singular Terms to express the Multitudes and Numbers of them, * as, any impartial Reader must needs confess, do rather denote them to be Hosts and Legions, than any such thing as meer Parochial Assemblies. His Words are hardly to be render'd in our own Tongue; for *the greatest Number of throng'd and crowded Societies of them* are an imperfect Translation of his Original, (as you may see it in the Margin) and his Comparison for them is this, that *they were like heaped Grain upon a Barn-Floor*. It is strange, if so exact an Author as this should strain for such superlative Words as these are, to describe only a common Congregation by. Yet thus he represents (we see) the State of Christian Churches at the Entrance, as it were, of that Period of Time to which our learned Author all along appeals: And before he comes to the End of his third Century, he confutes, (I think) even to a Demonstration, the whole Hypothesis at once: For, speaking of the peaceful

* Καὶ ὅντα ἀνὰ πάσας πόλεις τε καὶ κώμας, πληθύνοντες ἄλλων δίκῃ, μυνέανδρον καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἀθρόως ἐκκλησίαι συνισήκεσαν. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 3.

the Primitive Church, &c. 41

peaceful and blessed Times that Christians enjoy'd after the *Valerian Persecution* ended, and before the *Dioclesian* began, which was the last 40 Years of the third Century; *Who can describe* (says he) * the innumerable Increase and Concourse of them? the Numbers of Assemblies in each City? and the extraordinary Meetings in their Houses of Prayer? So that not content with the Buildings they had of old, they founded new and larger Churches throughout every City: Which agrees directly with what *Optatus* † (the holy Bishop of *Milevis*) tells us, that when *Dioclesian* destroy'd the Christian Churches, (which was but five Years after the third Century at the most) there were above forty *Basilica*, that is, Publick Places for Christian Worship, in the single City of *Rome*. When were these forty Churches built, or dedicated to this holy Use? None of them, can we imagine, so much as five or six Years before? Had the Christians enjoyed forty Years of Peace and Favour with the Emperors, just at that Time, and not provided so much as two or three such Houses of God for their solemn Assemblies, and yet had Occasion for forty of them, and actually had them too, before the fatal Edict was issued out, that le- vell'd

* Πῶς δ' ἂν τις διαγράψει τὰς μυριάδας ἐκείνας ἐπισυναγωγὰς; καὶ τὰ πλήθη ᾗ καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἀθεοισμάτων, τὰς τε ἐπισήμους ἐν τοῖς περὶ δολιχέοις σωμαδεύμασι; ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα μηδαμῶς ἔτι τοῖς παλαιοῖς οἰκοδομήμασι ἀρκέμενοι, εὐρείας εἰς πλάτος ἀνὰ πάντα τὰς πόλεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνίσταν Ἐκκλησίας. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 8. c. 1.

† Optat. de Schism. Donat. l. 2, p. 37.

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vell'd them all to the Ground? I leave the Reader to decide the Probability of this: And that the City of *Rome* was not singular in this Case, I believe any reasonable Man would easily agree.

Neocæsarea, (we know) the fam'd Metropolis of *Cappadocia*, was long before this as happily stored, as *Rome* itself proportionably could be, with such Christian Oratories for the Exercise of their Religion: For when their Apostolical Bishop S. *Gregory* had converted that whole City (save only 17 Persons) by the mighty Hand of God upon him, the zealous Citizens pull'd down their Altars, Temples, and Idols, and in every Place built *Houses of Prayer in the Name of Christ* in the room of them. The venerable Father of the Church, who relates this, lived in the fourth Century indeed, which our strict Enquirer, * I know, would in no Case have concern'd himself in this Matter: But since it is only an Historical Matter of Fact, and that within his own Period of Time too, I hope so unexceptionable an Author as S. *Gregory* † *Nyssen* may be allow'd to bear Witness to it. Though I can scarce forbear taking Notice upon this Occasion, that all the glorious Lights of the Christian Church in the fourth and fifth Centuries, whose Names can scarcely be mention'd without Deference

* Βωμῶν τε καὶ Ἱερῶν καὶ Εἰδώλων ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀναγε-
ταρμύων. Πάντων ὃ καὶ πᾶσι πάντα.

† *Euklneius* ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ ναὺς ἀνεγχερό-
των. Greg. Nyssen. in Vit. Thaum. Tom. 3. p.
567. Paris Edit. 1638.

ference and Veneration by any true Sons of the Church of Christ, must be wholly set aside, and (implicitly at least) stigmatiz'd with Innovation, and Prevaricating from the Evangelical Institution and Apostolical Establishment of the Christian Church, to make Way for this Congregational Scheme; which makes the sagacious Author of the *Enquiry* before us, lay such strict Injunctions (as in his Preface he does) upon any that shou'd consider his elaborate Work, not to stir a Hair's Breadth from the third Century of the Church; for to the glorious *Basils, Gregories, Chrysostome, Austin*, or any of their Contemporaries, he dares not appeal; knowing how notoriously the Catholick Church of God (then acknowledg'd in the World, and ever since) had Dioceses and Churches of a very different Constitution from his. This Consideration, I verily believe, wou'd a little affect some sort of Modest Men, but I leave it to themselves: And having briefly shewn you in what Manner Scripture, Church-History, and ancient Fathers, applaud the Honour of God, and do Justice to the blessed Labours of the holy Apostles, in setting forth the innumerable Souls they gain'd to God and his Church, in so little a Compass of Time; I shall now, without farther Interruption, consider the important Observations which our learned Enquirer has made upon sundry Passages in the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, which have prevail'd upon him to affirm, that there was no more than one single Congregational Church of

of Christians for three hundred Years together in the greatest City in the World.

He begins with *Justin Martyr*, and renders a Passage in his first Apology, thus: *On Sunday* (says he) * *All assemble together in one Place.* Now *Justin's* Words are these: On Sunday all throughout Cities or Countries meet together; and why do we think he left out these Words, (*throughout Cities or Countries*) which were in the very Middle of the Sentence? Why? because those Words of the holy Martyr wou'd undeniably shew it to be a general Account of Christian Practice in all Places of the Christian World; whereas our Enquirer's Business was to make it a particular Instance of a single Bishop's Diocese, and that all the Members of it, both in City and Country, met in one and the same Place together at once; and if it were so, then *Cities and Countries* in the Plural Number would be too much for him; for if they prov'd any thing in that Sense, they wou'd prove that *Cities and Countries*, indefinitely taken, wherever there were any Christians in them, met *All* together every Sunday, and made but one Congregation; and therefore the [*συνέλθοις γίνεῃ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ*] which properly signifies, *Assembling together*, 'tho' tis express'd in the Singular Number, yet being spoken with reference to a Complex Body, as it evidently is here in relation to Cities and Countries at large, does

* Enquiry; p. 17. Πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλθοις γίνεῃ. Just. Mart. Apol. 1. p. 98. *Justin's* Words are these; Πάντων καὶ πόλεις ἢ ἀγρὸς μόνων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλθοις γίνεῃ.

does severally refer to each distinct Member and Part, whereof that Complex Body does consist; and plainly denotes, that every Part, as well one as the other, did hold an Assembly on that Day, or else the same Absurdity wou'd unavoidably follow as before, that All made but one Assembly in the whole. So unwarily (at least) are this Holy Martyr's Words misrepresented here, to prove what they no wise do prove, or never intended to do.

For the plain Case was this; the pious Apologist writes to the Heathen Emperor, Senate, and People, in Vindication of the persecuted Christians throughout the *Roman Empire*, and towards the Close of his Apology sets forth the general Method of them all in the Exercise of their Religion; I say, *the general Method of them all*, for otherwise his charitable Plea for that Profession had been very Lamè and Imperfect indeed, and contrary to the Tenor of his whole Apology, as is obvious to them that read it: So that his Sundays-Assemblies here, were a Specification of the Catholick Practice, whether in Cities or Countries throughout the Empire, as the Plural Words, observ'd above, do unquestionably imply; and forasmuch as they were Aliens to the Christian Dispensation, to whom he wrote, he neither us'd the peculiar Word *Bishop* or *Presbyter*, to express the President of their respective Assemblies by, (tho' our Enquirer frankly translates it by the former of these) but only such a * general Term as might instruct the Heathens he address'd to, that

* 'Ο Πρεσβυτης' Just. Apol. ib.

that a Person in peculiar Authority did preside over each of them, and principally discharge the Duties of the Assembly, and the Day; and what does this prove as to the Certainty of but one Congregation only in any City or Diocese?

His next Appeal is to sundry Passages in the Epistles of S. Ignatius. The Quotations are pretty many in Number; but the Force and Importance of them all, I conceive, when you hear them, will appear to be much the same.

To the Church of * Smyrna he writes thus: *Where the Bishop is, there the People must be: And again, It is Unlawful to do any Thing without the Bishop.* To the Trallians, thus: § *There is a Necessity that we do nothing without the Bishop.* And to the Philadelphians; || *Where the Pastor is, there the Sheep ought to follow.* And to the Magnesians, † *As Christ, says he, did nothing without the Father, so do you nothing without the Bishop and Presbyters, but assemble into the same Place (so he renders ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, without any other Word joined to it;) that you may have one Prayer, one Supplication, one Mind, and one Hope.*

Now

* Ὅπως ἀνὴρ φανῇ ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκῆς τὸ πλεονεξίᾳ. — Οὐκ ἐξόν ὅτιν χωρεῖς ἐπισκόπους ἔτε βαπτίζεν, ἔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν. Ep. ad Smyr. p. 6.

§ Ἀναγκαῖον ἔν ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ ἐπισκόπου μὴδὲν πράττειν ὑμᾶς. Ep. ad Tralles. p. 48.

|| Ὅπως ᾗ ὁ ποιμὴν ὅτιν, ἐκῆς ὡς πρέσβυς ἀκολουθεῖτε. Ep. ad Philad. p. 42.

† Ἄνευ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν Πρεσβυτέρων μὴδὲν πράττειτε, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία πρῶτος, μία δέησις, εἰς νῆς, μία ἐλπίς. Ep. ad Magnesi. p. 33.

Now can any Man see more in all this, than that the Bishop must be in all the Ministrations of the Church, and none can rightly partake of any of them, but by him? But how? By his Personal Ministry alone? Yes; or else all our learned Enquirer's Use and Inference from them, will come to little indeed: But are we sure the holy Martyr himself meant so too? Nothing plainer, I think, than that he did not; else how cou'd he say immediately before his Charge to the Church of Smyrna, *of doing nothing without the Bishop, * let that Eucharist be counted Valid with you, (says he) which is Celebrated by your Bishop, or by such an one as he shall Authorize to do it.* And immediately after it again, as soon as he had told them, that without the Bishop, it was not Lawful to Baptize or Solemnize their Love-Feast, (which implies Communion too) he adds, as it were by way of Exception; || *But what he (that is, the Bishop) does approve, that is acceptable unto God.* The Bishop's Permission and Approbation (it seems then) were, in the holy Martyr's Sense, as good as his very Act and Deed. And no less is plainly to be seen in that great Argument, by which he enjoins this dutiful Regard to the Bishop, in his Charge to the *Magnesian*; † *As the Lord (says he) did nothing of himself, or by his Apostles, without the Father;* so

* Ἐκείνη βεβαία Εὐχαριστία ἡγεῖσθω ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπίσκοπων ἔστω, ἢ ὅς ἂν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτρέψῃ. Ad Smyrn. p. 6.

|| Ἀλλ' ὁ ἂν ἐκείνῃ δοκιμάσῃ, τὸτο καὶ τῷ Θεῷ δάρεσθον. Ib.

† Οὐτε δὲ ἑαυτῶ, ἔτε διὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων. Ep. ad Magnes. p. 33.

so neither do you without the Bishops and the Presbyters. In the Relative part of this Comparison, (we see) what our Lord did either by himself, or his Apostles, (commission'd by him) are imply'd to be the same thing ; and therefore in the Correlate which answers to it, what the Church should do by the Ministry of the Bishop himself, or of the Presbyters commission'd by him, by a just Analogy of Sense shou'd be the same too ; and for this Reason, perhaps, our cautious Enquirer, in quoting this Passage in this Place, left out the whole former Part of this Comparison in his Original in the Margin, and these Words, [By himself, or by his Apostles] in his Translation of it in the Text. I need not add, sure, how natural and undisputed a Maxim it is, in all Acts of Government whatsoever, that the Supreme Magistrate is said and own'd to do what is warrantably done by his commission'd Ministers and Authority ; so little does S. Ignatius's Language, in this Sense, and in his own Interpretation of it, differ from the ordinary Dialect and Notion of all Mankind.

That a Bishop, then, might and did so act by deputed Presbyters, I think is very clear in S. Ignatius's own Sense of it ; and this sort of Deputation so very nearly resembles even what we call *Institution* in an Episcopal Church at this Day, (at least as to the exercising of Ministerial Offices in it) that if the Place, as well as Office, were assign'd, I shou'd scarce know what we did dispute about. And that those primitive Bishops could and did assign to Presbyters, as well a separate Place
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or Places to minister in, as depute them to the Ministry itself, I can bring this very learned Enquirer himself to bear Witness for me; for in the 38th and 39th Pages of this very Treatise of his, (where he gives Account of the populous Church of *Alexandria*) he confesses, that *because 'twas incommodious for all the People to assemble in their own usual Meeting-place, which was very far from their own Homes, and withall to avoid Schism from their Bishop, the People ask'd leave, and the good Bishop Dionysius granted it, that they shou'd erect a Chappel of Ease.* He might have said Chappels in the Plural, if he pleas'd; for in the Historian himself there is the * same Authority for it; and this, about the Suburbs of the City, and to be under the Bishop's Jurisdiction, and guided by a Presbyter of his Commission and Appointment. † This Passage (from *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 11.*) is represented in a very nice and arbitrary Figure here, to suit the Scheme it was produc'd for, as much as it cou'd handsomly do; and yet how little it does so, nay, how directly it contradicts the Whole, is obvious to any Reader by the bare Reciting of it. Here are several Assemblies of Christians under the Jurisdiction of one Bishop; Subordinate and Accountable Presbyters, by Permission and Commission of that one Bishop, officiating separately in them; and distinct Places assign'd for their doing so.

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* *Κατὰ μέρον Συναγωγαί.* Dionys. apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 11.

† See my Remarks on this Passage at large, from Pag. 9. to Pag. 13. in the former Chapter.

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Judge if this be like our Enquirer's Congregational Diocese, or can be reasonably oppos'd to a Genuine Episcopal one, even in After - Ages of the Church, and down to these days of ours, if we will not still insist on bare Names, and overlook Things.

His only *Salvo* is, that on solemn Occasions, they were all to assemble still in one Church, and with their one Bishop together, which neither *Dionysius* himself, nor the Historian from whence he quotes it, say any thing of ; and yet we know indeed, that 'twas a customary Form, by which parochial Churches, for many Ages together, used to testify their Union and Dependence upon their several Cathedrals ; namely, to Offer and Communicate with them by proper Representatives on the greater Festivals of the Year ; and how much more than that, the Church of *Alexandria* ever did, (especially in *S. Athanasius's* Time, from whence, our Author tells us, he cou'd bring his Proof) any Man may pretty easily conceive ; since that venerable Father affirms, * that the whole Region of *Mareotis* and all the Churches in it, belong'd to the Bishop of *Alexandria* alone ; that the Presbyters had their several Portions of it, and each of them Ten or more large Villages under their particular Care. What sort of Congregation this whole Region, with

* 'Ο Μαρεώτης χώρα τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείας ὅσῃ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἐπισκόπῳ αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι πάσης τῇ χώρας ὑπόκειν. "Εκαστὸς δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔχει τὰς ἰδίας κώμας, μεγίστας, καὶ ἀειθμῶν δέκα πᾶς καὶ πλείονας. *S. Athanas. Apol. 2. in Oper. Vol. 1. p. 802. Edit. Colon. 1686.*

with all the Christians in the great City of *Alexandria* wou'd make, I leave to any reasonable Man to consider.

Having thus explain'd this familiar Phrase, then, of that primitive Martyr *Ignatius*, (*That without the Bishop nothing shou'd be done*) in a Sense which no ways warrants the Hypothesis 'twas quoted for; and that by the unexceptionable Authority of the holy Martyr himself, and the very learned Author's own Concessions, who was here applying it to quite another End; I think there is no tittle in the fore-mention'd Citations, that does not in Course fall in with the same Interpretation; unless perhaps he will say, that the particular Phrases, *Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ*, and *μία δέησις*, will not consist with this; by the former of which, he concludes for certain, that the whole Diocese or Bishop's Church assembled in *one Place* together; by the latter, that all publick Prayer, and religious Duties, were *so jointly* perform'd too.

But what Necessity for this? Do these Words so evidently imply it, that the holy Father himself cou'd have no other Meaning in them? Let the Context direct us in the Case; which, together with the Sense, which approv'd Commentators, and other Ecclesiastical Writers, give us of the Words themselves, will help us to a fair Construction of them.

In the Words immediately before these, the Holy Martyr warns the *Magnesian** to account nothing for a reasonable Service, that is done pri-

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vately,

* Μὴδὲ περισσής διλογίας τι φαίνεσθαι ἰδίᾳ ὑμῖν.
Ad Magnes. p. 33.

vately, or in their own private Way. Agreeable, no doubt, to the Apostolical Charge (*Heb. x. 25.*) that *they shou'd not forsake the Assembling of themselves together*, but meet for publick Worship under the proper Minister of their Church; to avoid Schism and Heterodox Opinions, as he proceeds to explain himself presently after. Now, if it had been undeniably prov'd by any Expressions before, that there neither was, nor ought to be, any more than one single House of Prayer, or of publick Worship, within a Bishop's Diocese, and that his Personal Ministry was absolutely necessary in all Divine Offices; it might have been fairly infer'd indeed, that they were *All* obliged to assemble with him, in that one individual Place alone: But since the Holy Martyr himself had inform'd us elsewhere, that the most solemn Offices of publick Worship *were Valid in themselves, and Acceptable to God too*, when perform'd by any Person whom the Bishop shou'd Authorize and Approve of for it; (as we have seen before he did) sure, if any particular Number or Society of Members in that Diocese had assembled for Publick Worship, under any Presbyter so allow'd and commission'd by him to Officiate for them, they had answer'd the full Import of the holy Martyr's Charge here given them, against Private and Clandestine Ways of Worshipping; or else I cannot see how the Bishop's Approbation and Permission of such a Person cou'd be to any Purpose at all. Nay, if the same Presbyter (by vertue of such Permission) cou'd not minister in Places different from their Bishop's

shop's Church, or Cathedral of his Diocese too; our learned Author's Chappel of Ease (as he calls it) in the *Alexandrian Church* had been no better than a Schismatical Conventicle, at the least. So little can it be inferr'd from S. *Ignatius's* Phrase in this Place, that he confin'd a Diocese to a single Congregation.

But let us see what Construction Impartial Commentators, and other Ecclesiastical Writers, have made of this Phrase, *Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* to whose Observations I shall only premise this short and general Key to them all; that as the Phrase itself does (by no Grammatical Construction whatsoever) so much denote a *Place*, as it does a *Thing in general*, according to the known Rule of all such Neutral Words as this is; so in the Instances I shall mention, you will find 'tis accordingly taken and understood by them all.

Thus the learned *Grotius*, explaining this *Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, in *Acts* iii. 1. he only translates it in these Words, *Circa idem tempus*, that is, *about the same time*. And in *Beza's* Translation of the New Testament, the Note and Paraphrase upon it, *Acts* ii. 4+. is this; that * *the common Assemblies of the Church, with their mutual Agreement in the same Doctrine, and the great Unanimity of their Hearts, were signified by it.* Agreeable to which Construction of it,

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is

* Ita communes Ecclesiæ cœtus significantur cum mutuâ in eandem doctrinam consensione, & summâ animorum concordia. Not. ad Bez. in *Act.* ii. 44. Vid. etiam *Poli Synopsis*. in *Act.* ii. 44.

is what we meet with in the *Greek* Translations of *Psal.* xxxiv. 3. where that which the *Septuagint* render Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, by *Aquila* is translated, Ὁμοθυμαδὸν, that is, *with one Mind*, and *one Heart*: And I need not remind the Reader of what we just now observ'd, that in *Justin Martyr's* Use of the Phrase, it could not be understood in the Sense that our learned Enquirer here puts upon it, without the gross Absurdity of bringing the Christians of whole Cities and Countries together into one and the same individual Place at once. *Acts* iv. 26, 27. *Herod*, *Pilate*, the *Gentiles*, and People of *Israel* were gather'd against Christ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, were they all in one Place, and at one Time together?

How Concluding that Argument must then be, which proceeds upon a positive Interpretation of a single Phrase, that is indefinite in its own Nature, and determin'd to signify otherwise by Authors of no mean Character in the learned World, and is not suitable to the Author's own Notions, from whence it is taken, neither; I shall not need to observe.

But is it possible, you'll say, that μία προσέχῃ and μία δέσσις, that is, one Prayer and one Supplication for a whole Church, shou'd be consistent with this Plurality of Congregations?

Let us see what we mean by it; and then, 'tis likely, we shall argue clearer about it. For if it shou'd appear by the Nature of the Thing itself, and by the Use and Application which *S. Ignatius* makes of it, that it can consist so; that is all, I think, can be requir'd in it.

Now,

Now, from the Nature of the Thing itself, 'tis clear, that Prayer must be *One*, either in respect of the Phrase and Words 'tis utter'd or deliver'd in; or in respect of the Sense and Substance, the Heads or Subject Matter of which it is compos'd: That is, it must be one, either in respect of the *Matter*, or in respect of the *Form* of it; for to say it must be *one* here, upon the Account of admitting but one Place or one Person in a Diocese to offer it up, is to beg the *Question*, which it is brought to prove; and therefore Unity in either of the other Senses, if it agrees with the holy Martyr's Sense too, is the fair Account of it.

Now, that it is not meant to be *One*, in the former Sense, relating to the Words or Phrase of it, I suppose will readily be granted; for that would make the holy Father plainly to prescribe a stinted Form, or meer Common Liturgy in the Church; which our gifted Congregational Bishops, I conceive, would scarce allow. And therefore, 2^{dly}, it must be understood to be *One*, in respect of the Sense and Substance of it; or in plainer Terms, it must be *Prayer* made with strict Analogy to the one common Faith, and sound Doctrine of the one Catholick Church throughout the Christian World, as every true Christian Prayer necessarily ought to be: And in no other Sense than this, is it conceivable, I think, how even a single Bishop in a Congregational Church, cou'd be said to offer up this *μία θύσις*, or *one Prayer* with his People, (which is here enjoin'd) who affects, as often as they meet together, to

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alter the Phrase and Language of his Devotion for them.

And that this was S. Ignatius's Meaning in it, we may reasonably infer, 1st, from the Words he immediately joins with it, *One Prayer, One Supplication*, (says he) *One Mind, and One Hope*; the two latter Words imply a plain Unity in them, and yet have so diffusive a Sense, as to extend to all the Congregations of the Catholick Church; and therefore why not the two former too? And, 2^{dly}, we may infer it also from the Use he was then making of it; which (as I hinted before) was directly to secure them from Schismatical Conventicles, and Heretical Notions; and since the Bishop himself was to approve (as we have seen S. Ignatius himself allow'd him to do) of any Minister whatsoever that should Officiate for them, and thereby reserve to himself the Inspection, Visitation, and Censure of them, (which is a Natural Consequence of it) whatsoever Prayer the People of his Diocese shou'd join in, with such a Commission'd and Approv'd Presbyter as this, cou'd never bring them into that Danger of Schism the holy Martyr here warn'd them against; but being Orthodox, and as Conformable to Christian Faith and Doctrine, as the Bishop's own cou'd be, wou'd, in the true Sense of the Primitive Father, and to the great End for which he int ended it, be that *μία δέσσις*, that one Prayer, which the Bishop and all his Diocese were to offer up to God.

And that this was a true Notion of the Unity of Prayer in the Primitive Churches, *Tertulian* wou'd satisfy us, if we wou'd allow him to

to speak only what he cou'd justify and make good, in his Apology for all the Christians in the *Roman Empire* : For, tho' we have no Reason to believe, that he frequented many more Congregations than that single one to which he belong'd, as other Christians did ; yet he takes the Freedom to declare to the *Roman Magistrates*, what kind of Prayer the Christian Churches us'd in general, how Innocent their Petitions were, and frankly mentions several Particulars of them, by way of upbraiding them all for persecuting Subjects that Liv'd and Pray'd so loyally and harmlessly as they did. † If he cou'd do this without some Common Liturgies (then at least) in Use amongst them, or some known Canon of the Ministerial Offices ; surely, it cou'd be upon no other grounds than this, that he was sure the Christian Churches Prayers were one, and the same, in all Places, in the Sense we are now speaking ; that is, they were bound to bear a strict Analogy to that one Creed, that one and the same System of Christian Doctrine, and that one Divine Model of all Prayer, which our blessed Lord deliver'd to them, and every one of them were known to be guided by. Other Fathers, as ancient or ancients than *Tertullian*, speak in the same Manner with him. But on this Head, I think, there needs no more.

To

† Oramus pro Imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum, ac potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro morâ finis. *Tert. Apol. c. 39.*

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To proceed then: *The Bishop* * (says our learned Author) *had but one Altar, or Communion-Table, in his whole Diocese, at which his whole Flock receiv'd the Sacrament from him, and that at one time.* For Proof of this, he offers those Words of *S. Ignatius* to the *Philadelphians*; † *There is but one Altar, as but one Bishop.* To explain which Phrase, I shall use our || Enquirer's own Method, by joining to it a parallel Expression of the admirable *S. Cyprian*; which is so near a-kin to it, that it seems almost a meer Translation of it; at least, 'tis a most direct and immediate Illustration of it. *S. Cyprian's* Words are here in the Margin: Our Enquirer renders them thus; § *No Man can regularly constitute a new Bishop, or erect a new Altar, besides the one Bishop and the one Altar.* And here I am sorry I must remark a fatal Oversight; (for I am loth to give even this *unjust Translation* another Name) but 'tis evident, what *S. Cyprian* here calls a *new Priesthood*, and *one Priesthood*, our learned Author renders by a *new Bishop* and *one Bishop*; which proves, indeed, that he believ'd it a directly parallel Place to that of *S. Ignatius*, (as it really is) because he translates both in the very same Words. But, in the mean time, he so disguises this holy Father's Text, that he hides from

* *Enquiry*, p. 18, 19.

† *Ἐν συστάσειον, ὡς ἑς ἐπίσκοπον* &c. *Ep. ad Philadelp.* p. 41.

|| *inq.* p. 21.

§ Aliud altare constitui, aut Sacerdotium novum fieri, præter unum altare, & unum Sacerdotium, non potest. *Cypr. Ep.* 40. § 4. *Edit. Pamel.* *Ep.* 43. *Edit. Oxon.*

from the *English* Reader's Sight the main Key which would open the genuine Sense and Meaning of this, and all such Expressions as these are; not only in these two venerable Fathers alone, but in all the Writings of Primitive Antiquity besides: For the Unity of the Altar, the Unity of the Bishop, the Unity of the Eucharist, the Unity of Christian Prayer, and the very Unity of the whole Church itself, are all founded upon the common Bottom that the Unity of the Christian *Priesthood* is; and no Man ever so unlock'd the Evangelical Secret of this Catholick and Christian Unity, as the unimitable S. Cyprian has done. So that if his short and plain (but admirable Account of it) were but duly weigh'd and credited, as it ought to be, we should hear but few Enquiries after the Constitution of the Primitive Church, few Amusements about the Fundamental Unity of it, drawn only from a scatter'd Sentence, here and there, in the most uniform Records of the best and ancientest Writers in it.

S. Cyprian's brief Account of it lies in that noted Passage, so familiar to all who ever read his Works, or almost ever heard his Name:

* *Episcopacy* (says he, in his small Tract of the
Unity

* *Episcopatus est unus, cujus à singulis in solidum pars tenetur. Ecclesia quoq; una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur; quo modo solis multi radii, sed lumen unum, &c. Numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copiae largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine. Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. p. 108. Edit. Oxon.*

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Unity of the Church) is but one; a Part whereof each [Bishop] holds, so as to be interested for the Whole. The Church is also one, which by its fruitful Increase improves into a Multitude, as the Beams of the Sun are many, as Branches from Trees, and Streams from a Fountain; whose Number, tho' it seems dispersed by the abundant Plenty of them, yet their Unity is preserv'd by the common Original of them all. Apply this plain Rule to all Sorts of Unities mention'd here; and see first, if the Primitive Expressions of *one Church, one Altar, and one Bishop*, do not evidently consist with as many Churches, Altars, and Bishops, as can be proved to be undeniably derived from one and the same original Institutor: The Unity of whose Divine Power and Spirit, diffused at first amongst the chosen Twelve, stamps a Character of Unity upon all who regularly descend from them, and upon every Individual, who only claims under, and owns his Authority from, and his Dependence upon such as them: Nay, the Unity of *sundry Prayers* too, (as I have shewn before) by the same Analogy of Reason, may be own'd to be such, if they all center (as to the Substance of them) in that original Model which the Divine Author of Christian Prayer first deliver'd in to us; those common Articles of Faith and Doctrine which he oblig'd us all to; provided they be offer'd up by a Person duly authoriz'd for such Ministerial Offices in the Church. Nor will the Ministration of the blessed Eucharist by divers Hands, or at sundry Tables, tho' within the same particular Diocese still, differ any thing from the rest, if duly warranted by, and kept accountable to, the

the first and principal Minister of that holy Ordinance, who is the rightful Bishop of the whole Flock. The Plurality of Eucharists is thus made one throughout all the United Provinces and Dioceses of the Catholick Church; because in the gradual Progress of the Church, from the Beginning, both Bishops and Presbyters do all claim a Power of Commission to consecrate from one another, till they rise up to the blessed Apostles themselves, and they from Christ alone.

And thus S. Ignatius's Catholick Phrase, of *one Altar, one Bishop*, and the like, does no more prove the Necessity of but one Communion-Table in a Primitive Bishop's Diocese, than it would do in the most extensive one of this or any former Ages, or in the largest Patriarchal Province that was ever settled in the Church, provided every one who minister'd at each of them had a just Commission from their Orthodox Superiors for doing so: But what is otherwise than so, is Altar against Altar indeed, and no less than formal Schism. Let us take care then, not to *draw up Forces* (as * S. Ignatius's Words import) *against the Bishop*, if we mean not to withdraw our Subjection from God.

By this Account the Reader will see what the Ancients truly meant, when they call'd a Schismatical Usurpation of the Episcopal Power, by the Name of a *Profane Altar*; which yet our learned Enquirer urges again and again, as a fair

* Σπινδάλωμεν μὴ ἀντιστάμεθα τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ὦμεν θεῷ ὑποταγόμενοι. Ad Ephes. p. 20.

fair Argument to prove, that there could be no more than one single Congregation in a whole Diocese, tho' the Ministers of a second, or third, or more, should never so much agree with the Bishop himself in all his Principles and Ministrations, and be even authoriz'd and approv'd of by him; as † S. Ignatius expressly tells us, a Bishop might so authorize and approve him; in which Case they were so far from being thought a *Profane Altar*, that they were truly own'd to be but one and the same.

Next to the one only Communion-Table, our Author proceeds to prove the second Part of his main Proposition, *That all the People of the Diocese receiv'd together at once.* His Authorities for that are only two: *First*, from S. Cyprian, whose Words he quotes and represents in the Form of a direct and positive Proposition, thus: * *We celebrate the Sacrament, the whole Brotherhood being present.* This is pretty near the Author's Words, I confess; but his Application of them to the whole Flock of a Diocese, either of S. Cyprian himself, or of any other Bishop, is very hard to be gather'd from them in the Place where I find them lie. The Case was this: || S. Cyprian was complaining to *Cecilius* of some Persons in some *Places*, who either

† Ω ἀν ἀνδρὺς ἐμπρέψῃ. Ad Smyrn. p. 6.

* Ut sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni præsente celebremus. *Cyp. Ep. 63. Edit. Oxon. 1691. Amstel.*

|| Quoniam quidam vel ignoranter, vel simpliciter in calice dominico sanctificando & plebi ministrando, non hoc faciunt, quod Jesus Christus sacrificii hujus auctor — fecit, &c. *Cyp. ib. sub init.*

ther out of Ignorance, or Simplicity of Heart, celebrated the holy Eucharist with Water only in the Chalice, without Wine; the Zealous Bishop is full of Argument and Resentment against them: What! (*says he*) are they afraid the Heathen shou'd discover them in their Morning Sacrifices by the Smell of Wine? What will they do in Time of Persecution, if they are so ashamed of the Blood of Christ in the very Offerings themselves? Or do many of them excuse themselves thus, that tho' Water only was offer'd in the Morning, yet when they come to Supper, they offer a mix'd Cup then? [I shan't amuse my Reader with what the Learned may say about their taking the Eucharist thus in the Morning, and completing it in the Evening, or about any other Sense that may be given of it; 'tis foreign to our Case] but * the Words are plain: To which S. Cyprian replies, But when we sup, (*says he*) we can't call the People to our Feast, *that we might celebrate the Truth of the Sacrament*, (namely in a mix'd Cup, as it ought to be) *with all the Brotherhood about us*. This is the Occasion then of the Words. In which 'tis easy to observe,

1st, That they refer not at all to S. Cyprian in Person, or possibly to any in his Diocese, tho' in the Name of Christians in general, he says, *that we might celebrate the Sacrament aright, &c.* or if they did refer to him, they wou'd demonstrate that he had more Congregations than one in his Church; for in his own Cathedral, to be

* See the same, 63. Ep. 9. 7.

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be sure, he did not minister so, or else he reason'd very strangely indeed.

2dly, 'Tis plain that *all the Brotherhood* here is put in Opposition to the Christians in their private Families, which I think with sufficient Propriety of Speech might be said, if he meant only all the Christian Brethren that us'd to meet in *their own Particular Oratory* together for publick Worship, tho' there were twenty other such-like Oratories as those, United together with them under one common Bishop, to make up a *Diocesan Church*; for certainly, what any private Men shou'd do in their own Houses now-a-days, which ought to be done in their Parish-Church, might very properly be reprov'd, by saying, they ought to have done it when *all the Brotherhood* came together.

3dly, I might observe what an useful Turn our ingenious Author gave to this Quotation, by Translating it with that insensible Variation, *We do celebrate*, instead of, *That we might celebrate*; which made it directly S. Cyprian's Act and Deed in his own Diocese, and gave no Occasion to imagine, that there cou'd be any other possible Meaning in it, than very plainly so.

Lay these few Things together, and judge what an irrefragable Argument this must be, to prove that no Primitive Bishop whatsoever, and particularly S. Cyprian himself, did ever minister the blessed Sacrament; but that every Soul under his respective Episcopal Cure (who Communicated at all) were always Present with him, which was the Thing 'twas brought to prove; nor has our learned Author any one Authority more here, to prove this grand Point

of

of his general Proposition, but barely the Repetition of *Justin Martyr's Sundays Assemblies* again, where all in *Cities and Countries* (he says) met in one Place, which I conceive I have shewn already, to contain an irreconcilable Inconsistency in it, and that it proves no such thing.

But to make all sure, he * tells us, *The Christians, in Tertullian's Time and Country, receiv'd the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper from the Hands of the Bishop alone* ||. But how do we know that *Tertullian's Presidents* in this Place (for that's his Word, as you see in the Margin) were the *Bishops* only? Now, as far as our *Enquirer* can assure us of it, you may find in pag. 67. of this Tract of his; where we read, that *President was one discretive Appellation of a Bishop; and yet S. Cyprian (says he) calls his Presbyters Presidents too*: Mayn't we be very well assur'd then (do you think) that *Tertullian* (whom *S. Cyprian* familiarly call'd his Master) cou'd mean nothing else by his *Presidents*, but *Bishops* of a *Diocese* alone, since his Great Disciple, *S. Cyprian*, thought no such thing of it? At least, wou'd not one think, that our ingenious Author shou'd satisfy his Reader a little with some certain Note here, that in this Passage of *Tertullian*, it cou'd be meant no otherwise, since he himself had made that Observation for us? But to be short, and to give a fair Account of the Scope of that Passage in *Tertullian*; it was

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thus:

* *Enquiry*, p. 19.

|| *Nec de aliorum manu quàm Præsidium sumimus. Tert. de Coron. Mil. p. 121. Edit. Rigalt. Lutetiae, 1641.*

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thus: *Tertullian* was contending for the Authority of *Tradition* for many common Rites then us'd in the Christian Church, without a Scripture Warrant for them. * Amongst these Customs, he instances a general Practice in the Church then, to Communicate in the Morning, different from the Time of the Institution itself; and together with that, this which we are now speaking of, *That they receiv'd the Communion from the President's Hands alone*; both equally common in his Days in the Christian Church; which, to make as clear an Interpretation of it as we can, I think implies neither more nor less than this, that as the Sacrament was then generally Administer'd in the Morning, so wherever it was Administer'd, the Consecrated Elements were usually deliver'd to the Communicants (as it is indeed most in Use now) by the Hands of them only, who presided in the several Assemblies where those holy Exercises were perform'd; that is, I humbly conceive, by the Officiating Ministers † themselves. And what Appearance of Proof there is in all this, for a Bishop's Personally distributing the Blessed Elements to every Communicant in his whole Diocese, at one Time and in one Place; I desire the Words and Context may be sifted, and I shou'd willingly set down by the Reader's Judgment of it.

Well !

* *Eucharistiæ Sacramentum, & in tempore victus, & omnibus mandatum à Domino, etiam antelucanis coetibus, nec de aliorum manu, quam Præsidentium sumimus. Tertul. Ib.*

† *Whereas in many Places (as Justin Martyr tells us) the Deacons used to do it.*

the Primitive Church, &c. 67

Well ! But the Bishop alone (generally,* says he) baptized all in his Diocese. How much the Word generally implys, I need not over-nicely enquire : He himself, again, gives me an easier Solution of it ; for (Page 55.) he tells us from the same Tertullian, That the Bishop hath the Right of Baptism, and then the Presbyters and Deacons ; but for the Honour of the Church, not without the Bishop's Authority.

I shall observe no more at present from this Quotation, than this ; that the Presbyters and Deacons might Baptize in the Diocese, if the Bishop allow'd them to do it ; as S. Ignatius (we know before) admitted that Baptism to be acceptable to God, which the Bishop shou'd approve ; so that the Whole of the Matter (it seems) is this, That the Bishop, with his Presbyters and Deacons, must Baptize all in the Diocese ; and this is offer'd as a Reason, that a Diocese must be no more than a Congregational Church, because the Bishop cou'd not otherwise do all ; for as for his generally doing it, that is our Enquirer's own ; neither Quotation has a tittle of it.

I confess, that *Contestation* mention'd here, which was the Renunciation-Form, which all Adult Catechumens us'd in their own Persons, to testify their forsaking the Devil, the Pomp, &c. before they actually were baptiz'd ; 'tis probable (and possible enough too) it might be in the Presence of the Bishop himself, and

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* Enquiry, P. 21. Sub Antistite contestamur nos renunciare Diabolo & pompæ. Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3. 121. ut supra.

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the Diocese have a sufficient Plurality of Congregations in it too ; || since it was a very large space of Time, (as Tertullian expresses it) which was set apart for this very Ordering of Baptism every Year, even the fifty Days, from Easter to Whitsontide, including the Festivals, as you'll see, his Account of it, in the Margin, shews.

It is a hard Task to attend such Minute Particulars, when I have produc'd before, such general Rules, as might answer all at once: But I am willing to please. He tells us farther then, that *Justin Martyr* assures us, * *The Bishop was common Curator, and Overseer, of all the Orphans, Widows, Diseased; in a word, of all that were Needy and Indigent; and thence infers, That the Diocese cou'd not be very large, where the Bishop Personally reliev'd them all.* Now, the seeming Force of this Argument does not lie in *Justin Martyr's* Words, but in the discreet Manner of wording the Inference from them, with a little Help in the Translation: The Holy Martyr said just before, that the Collection of the People's Alms was deposited in their President's Hands, and immediately subjoins, that he took care to relieve all kind

|| Diem baptismo solennem pascha præstat exinde Pentecoste, ordinandis lavacris latissimum spatium est, quod & domini Resurrectio inter Discipulos frequentata est. *Tertul. de Bapt. c. 19. Edit. Rigal. Lutet. 1641.*

* Τὸ συλλεγόμενον ὅσα τῷ Πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσους ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν λειπομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔσσι, καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις ἔσι ξένοις, καὶ ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἐν χρείᾳ ἔσσι κηδεμὼν γίνεσθαι. *Just. Mart. Apol. 2. p. 99. Edit. Colon. 1686.*

of distress'd Persons (there mention'd) and out of the Offerings, to be sure, that were so entrusted with him. Our Enquirer infers, that he *Personally* did this; by which he wou'd have us understand, that all whom the Churches Charity reliev'd, the Bishop *personally* visited, inspected every individual Case from first to last, himself alone, and distributed Relief to the poor Sufferers with his own Hand; for here the Stress of all lies, which must necessarily prove them to be so few; and to give a better Colour to this Interpretation, he finds out a noted Parish-Term for this Episcopal Almoner, and translates him an *Overseer*. Now let the common Sense of all Mankind judge for us, if any publick Trust of this Nature was ever understood to be necessarily executed so in any sort of Society whatsoever. I believe *Justin Martyr* himself (or any other Christian Writer besides him) would have ventur'd to say as much, or more (than all we have here) of *S. Paul's* Care in treasuring up and distributing the Alms of many Christian Congregations, for the Relief of all his Churches: And yet in the Sense we here contend for, he had succour'd but a poor Number of the Whole, and been but a small Sub-Almoner in the Matter, if what he obtain'd of the several Churches to collect, what the Presbyters and Elders did by his Order in it, and the Messengers of their own too, which he allow'd to distribute it for him, had not been imputed to his own Person, as common Governor and Guardian for them all. And why shou'd it then be so impracticable a Thing, as is here pretended, for any single Person to

take Care of distress'd Christians in more than a single Congregation? Besides, the Charity of the Church in those days, was, among other Uses, to be employ'd for Relief of Banish'd and Captive Brethren, in Mines, in Islands, in remotest barbarous Countries: In what Sense did the Bishop personally do all this? But I am weary of serious Reasoning, in so slight an Objection as this is.

* And yet what follows, I shou'd less expect to meet with from so judicious a Hand. For he observes, in no less than seventeen or eighteen Instances here produc'd together, that when the ancient Church-Writers give an Account of sundry publick and solemn Acts of Discipline in a Diocese, (as Censures, Excommunications, Absolutions, Elections, Ordinations, or the like) they tell us, they were done *before the whole Church, before the Multitude, before all the People, by the Suffrage of all the Brotherhood, with the Knowledge, and in the Presence of the People*; and from hence concludes, that all the whole Diocese personally met together in one Place upon these Occasions, and consequently were no more than cou'd make one single Congregation.

And here I cannot but observe these three Things:

First, That this singular Construction of such obvious and familiar Forms of Speech as these are, bears very hard upon the common Sense and Language of all Mankind. Can no publick Act of Civil Justice, or Solemn Ministration in the

* See Enquiry, &c. p. 22, 23, 24.

the Church amongst us, be said to pass in *the Face of the Country, before all the People, openly and in the Sight of all Men; nay in the Face of the whole World,* (as some will think it no Absurdity to say) unless the Matter of Fact will answer to the very Letter of the Phrase? Are not all Publick or Solemn Acts of Church or State (as to Discipline and Government) familiarly distinguish'd from any others, by such a Latitude of Expression as this, and no otherwise taken by any Man, (that ever I heard of) than that a general Liberty is given to all, who either can, or will, or are concern'd to be present at them, to come and offer what they think Material; to judge, or bear Witness of the Regularity and Justice of what is done? And if every individual Member of each respective Society were expected to be personally present at such Solemnities as these; neither Courts, nor Halls, nor Cathedrals, were ever yet erected, that cou'd answer the Occasions which the Church or State wou'd have for them; and yet no *English* Author (I'm perswaded) wou'd think it an Impropriety to say, that such publick Acts of Law or Discipline as these, were done in the Presence, Sight and Cognizance of the whole Country, Church, or People; and if no Exceptions, but rather apparent Acclamations were made, (as is not unusual upon sundry such Occasions) they wou'd say, they were done with the general Consent, Suffrage, and Approbation of them all. But,

Secondly, That other Way of arguing bears no less hard upon the very Language of the Holy Scriptures themselves; and therefore

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there is little Reason to fasten it on the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, who were the true Guardians and Assertors of them.

What more familiar Phrase in the whole History of the Law deliver'd by *Moses*, and during all the Time of his Government, than that
 * *Moses himself spake to all the Congregation of Israel, whatsoever the Lord commanded him; nay, even in the Ears of all the Congregation of Israel,* he is said to † speak the Words of that Song, which he left for a Testimony amongst them. In what Sense do we conceive he himself could be said to speak in the Hearing of so numerous a Host, as the Children of *Israel* then were? At different Times, do we think? or Tribe by Tribe, and by Piece-meals, in his own Person? No, he himself gives us a better Key for the Understanding of such Phrases as these: For at the 28th Verse immediately foregoing, *Gather unto me* (says he) *the Elders of the Tribes, and the Officers, that I may speak these Words in their Ears, and call Heaven and Earth to record against them.* So that it plainly appears, that whatsoever *Moses* spake in such a Manner, and in such an Audience, as was sufficient to convey his Words and Precepts to all the Tribes of *Israel*, tho' not immediately from his own Lips, That the Holy Prophet himself thought not improperly express'd, when he said afterwards, that he spoke them *to the whole Congregation of Israel.*
 And

* *Exod. xxxv. 1, 4. Deut. v. 1. xxix. 2. &c.*

† *Deut. xxx. 31.*

* And if we can conceive any literal Way of interpreting these, and many such-like Expressions in the Holy Bible, so that six hundred thousand Men should at once be instructed by the Ministry of one Man, we need dispute no more about the greater or lesser Numbers in the Diocese of a Primitive Church, since one such extraordinary Comment as that would answer all for us. But,

Thirdly, To argue more directly *ad hominem* in this Case: If that Way of Reasoning be right, then it will prove the Dioceses of latter Ages, as well as the Ancientest of them all, to be but meer Congregational Churches too: Compare the Times and Phrases, and you'll find it to be so. Our Enquirer tells us from S. Cyprian, || that *Sabinus was elected Bishop of Emerita by the Suffrage of all the Brotherhood*. This was in the Third Age.

Now *Theodoret* tells us, that *Neclarius* was made Bishop of *Constantinople* † *by the Suffrage of the whole City too*; and *Flavianus* made Bishop of *Antioch*, § *the whole Church (as it were with one Voice) giving their Suffrage for him*. And this was towards the latter End of the Fourth Age. The like says *Platina* of *Gregory the Great*, that he

* Of like Phrases in the New Testament, see Matt. iii. 5. Joh. xii. 19. Acts xvii. 5, &c.

|| De universæ fraternitatis suffragio. Cypr. Ep. 68. p. 6.

† Πάντος ἐπιφανισμοῦς τῆ πόλεως.

§ Πάντος συμφήρου τῆ Ἐκκλησίας, ὡς περ διὰ μιᾶς φωνῆς — Theod. l. 5. c. 9. p. 211. Paris, 1673.

he was made Bishop of Rome by the || unanimous Consent of all: And again, † All the People chose him, says Gregory of Tours; and this at the very Close of the Sixth Age.

The learned Enquirer again * tells us, (from an African Synod in 258.) that Ordinations should be done with the Knowledge, and in the Presence of the People; that so they might be Just and Lawful, being approv'd by the Suffrage and Judgment of all; and that accordingly S. Cyprian consulted his People so: And from hence he infers, that his Diocese could be no more than one Congregation. Now the Roman Presbyters, in their Letter to Honorius the Emperor, (which was in the Fifth Century) speak just the same thing in relation to Boniface their Bishop, whom they Chose and Consecrated in that very Manner. § On a Set Day (say they) calling all to an Assembly, we went to a Church we had all agreed upon, and there consulting with the Christian People, we chose him whom God had order'd; for by the Applause of all the People, and the Consent of the best in the City, we pitch'd upon the venerable Boniface, a Man Ordain'd and Consecrated by Divine Institution.

|| Uno omnium consensu creatur pontitex. *Platina in Vit. Greg.*

† Gregorium plebs omnis elegit. *Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. l. 10. c. 1.*

* See the Enquiry, p. 24.

§ Altero die ad Ecclesiam ubi prius ab omnibus tum erat constitutum, habita omnium collatione, properavimus, ibiq; participato cum Christiana plebe consilio, quem Deus jussit elegimus; nam venerabilem virum Bonifacium — acclamatione totius populi ac consensu meliorum civitatis asseruimus, divinæ institutionis ordine consecratum. *Baron. An. 419. N. 8. Mag. 1601. p. 442.*

tution. Here's an Election and Ordination in one certain Place, in a general Assembly of the Church, Consultation with, and Applause of all the People in it; and yet, our learned Enquirer is very well assur'd, (I doubt not) that there were many Congregations in the Church of *Rome* at that Time; and therefore what Proof such Arguments can be, that there were no more than one in *S. Cyprian's* Time, I shall leave to himself to judge.

But can a Bishop write a publick Gratulatory Letter in his own Name, and in the Name of *all his Fraternity*, as our * Enquirer observes *S. Cyprian* did to *Lucius*, Bishop of *Rome*, and not have all the Fraternity, i. e. all the People of his Diocese present with him? Yes surely, in the Sense *S. Cyprian* meant, he may; for if all the People of his own Diocese were met together at the sending that Letter, then all the People of many other Dioceses, and probably of his whole Province, were assembled together for it too: For his Words are, † *I and my Collegues, and all the Fraternity, send this Letter to you.* Now Collegues, in *S. Cyprian's* Language, I think is unquestionably understood of Fellow-Bishops, and given by him to no other Order of Ecclesiasticks whatsoever; so that all the Fraternity, subjoin'd to them, does most properly mean, that they and their Churches (as the Occasion did require) sent unanimous Congratulations to the blessed Confessor

* *Enquiry.* p. 25. *Fraternitas omnis.* *Cypr. Ep.* 58. § 2. or *Ep.* 61. *Edit. Oxon.*

† *Ego & collegæ, & fraternitas omnis, has ad vos literas mittimus.* *Cypr. ib.*

fessor *Lucius*, so lately return'd from Banishment.

If this be thought no clear Construction of the Place, let us compare it with the Synodical Epistle of the Council of *Antioch*, (from whence our Enquirer himself here quotes another Authority to the like Purpose:) The Bishops in that Council writing to *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Rome*, and *Maximus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, first prefix'd their * own Names to the Epistle, and then join with them, *the Churches of God also*; that is, unquestionably, the Churches they presided over, who jointly with them sent Greeting, and concurr'd in the Account they there give of *Paulus Samosatenus's* Case; and do we think the whole Dioceses of those several Bishops were personally present with them in that Council? That wou'd make it such a Synod as is surely without Example, and I think beyond Imagination. Certainly Bishops, or the chief Magistrates of any Society or Corporation, may in Consistory or Council, write Letters of a publick Importance in the Name of the Society or Body they relate to, without convening or polling all the individual Members of it: And their Reading of Letters of such publick Concern to their numerous People, (which is another Argument our learned || Enquirer insists upon) is better accounted for in such an obvious Sense as this is, than he will ever account for King †

Josiah's

* "ΕλενΘ, καὶ ΤρωύαιΘ, καὶ ΘεόφιλΘ — Καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν πατρικῆς τὰς ἐγρῆς πύ-
λεις καὶ ἔθνη Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ Πρεσβύτεροι καὶ Διάκονοι,
καὶ αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι Θεῷ ἀγαπητοῖς, &c. — χαίρειν.

|| *Enq.* p. 24. Sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi
legere. *Cypr. Ep.* 55. or in *Oxf. Edit.* 59.

† 2 *Kings* xxiii. 2.

Josiah's reading the Book of the Covenant in the Ears of all the Men of Judah, and all the Inhabitants of Ferusalem, in his own literal and strain'd Sense of such Expressions. So that the Triumph, in the Close of this Head, might as well have been in softer Words, at least; for 'tis pretty much to say, (for no better Reasons than these) that a Primitive Diocese could not possibly be more than one single Congregation.

There are some few Quotations amongst the rest in this Place, which urge the Necessity of all the People's Presence indeed, upon Account of the Part and Right they *All* had to judge of any Offence that was brought before the Consistory of the Church; but those will be more properly consider'd in the following Chapters, where they are repeated to us again, and offer'd as undeniable Proofs of such a Right and Practice in the Primitive Church. In the mean time, I can't but say, 'tis surprizing to see, how often the same Quotations are brought over and over again in this short Enquiry, to serve the different Ends of it, and make it appear a Work of great Variety of Reading, and strongly supported by Primitive Authority for it.

We have a pregnant Instance of this, in the four next Pages before us, which are from Pag. 27. to Pag. 31. Our Author had gleaned (as we have seen already) all the short Phrases in *S. Ignatius's* Epistles, that he thought gave any Countenance to his Hypothesis, and offer'd them at once to prove his general Proposition: (These we had at Pag. 17. to Pag. 21.) And now he gives

gives us them all again by Retail, and applies the self-same Quotations by Piece-meals, to prove, that each of those Churches S. Ignatius wrote to, were meer Congregational Churches, and no more. This makes the Bulk of Authority look great indeed, but adds not one Grain of Weight to it; and therefore the Reader will excuse me, (I know) if I take no more Notice of his repeated Arguments here about *one Altar, one Eucharist, one Prayer for the whole Church; that the Bishop took one common Care of them all; that nothing must be done without the Bishop; that all must assemble together in one Place, and the like.* By which Repetitions he here labours separately to prove, that the Dioceses of *Smyrna, Ephesus, Magnesia, Philadelphia, and Trallium*, were such sort of Churches as he contends for.

The Strength of all those Arguments, I conceive, I have fairly try'd already; and 'tis much there should scarcely be one new one found to make any of those *five eminent Churches* bear a clear Testimony for him, when he took the Pains to consider each of them singly, and one by one.

'Tis true, to make the Diocese of *Smyrna* appear such, he adds a short Clause or two; (omitted before) 1st, * That *the Bishop of that Church could know his whole Flock personally by their Names.* So he translates the Place, tho' S. Ignatius's Words have no such Affirmation in them,

* Enq. p. 27. Ἐξ ὀνόματι πάντας ζήτει. Ep. ad Polycarp. p. 13.

them, but are only a plain Advice to S. Polycarp to do what the Primitive Bishops always did, that is, to keep the Names of every Member of his Church enroll'd in what the Ancients call'd the *Matricula* of their Church; the Occasion of the Words imply it to be so: He just before besought S. Polycarp † *not to neglect the Widows of the Church*; and immediately after, desires him § *not to overlook so much as the Men-Servants and Maid-Servants in it*; and in the midst of this (as a Means so to know the Quality, Number, and Condition of his Diocese) advises him *to enquire out all by Name*, that is, to get such a Register of their Names, that upon Occasion of any Object of Charity propos'd to him, of any Complaint or Application made to him about any within his Cure or Jurisdiction, or in case of Apostacy, or Perseverance in Time of Persecution, or the like; by means of this general *Matricula*, he (as the other Bishops did) might more directly know how the Case stood with them. And which was more than all this, the Names thus entred in this sacred Record were personally entitled *Then* to all the publick Intercessions and Spiritual Blessings obtain'd by the Eucharistical Prayers, Oblations, and Sacraments of the whole Church; and to have their Names blotted out of this, was a constant Effect of Excommunication, and was dreaded by all that had

† Χήραι μὴ ἀμελείῳσαν. Ep. ad Polyc. p. 12.

§ Ἐξ ὀνόματι πάντας ζήτει. Δύλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφανεί. Ib. p. 13.

had true Veneration (as those Primitive Christians had) for the Holy Ordinances of the Church. Those who know the right Nature of the Orthodox Commemorations, and Eucharistical Offerings for the Saints, before the *Roman* Corruptions so wretchedly infected them, as they now do, cannot be unacquainted with this. And these were sufficient Reasons for that Apostolical Father to mind a Bishop of the Church to be careful of keeping such a necessary *Matricula* as this, and an effectual Way for *S. Polycarp* to take care of the meanest and poorest Members of his Diocese; which, the Context tells us, was the Occasion of *S. Ignatius's* using these Words: But as to the Matter of but one single Congregation being then under his Cure, and that *he must personally know them all by Name*, as one Neighbour knows another, (which our Enquirer's Translation affirms of them) I think they no more imply it, than that *Augustus Caesar* had but one Town to command, and could know every Subject he had, when (for many Political Occasions) he caus'd them all to be enroll'd, and requir'd the State of his Empire to be brought in to him: * For the Censor's Work, in such a Case as that, was to give in an Estimate of the Age, Children, Family, and Estates of all the People under him, as *Tully* gives us an Account of it.

But still (says our Enquirer) *Smyrna* could not have more than one Congregation in it, because

* Censores populi ævitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasq; censento. *Cic. de leg. l. 3. fol. 1.*

because (as S. Ignatius says again) † *it was not fitting that any should marry there without the Bishop's Consent.* Now, I confess, it seems to me no unpracticable Matter for the same Thing to be done in the very City of *London*, or *York*, at this Day, if either Banns or Licences were managed with that proper Care which the Church design'd they should; nay, I think it may be said, (even as Matters stand now) that either the Bishop in Person, or such as are commission'd by him, (which is much the same thing) have a necessary Cognizance of all such solemn Contracts (before the Consummation of them) in the largest Dioceses amongst us. And this gives Opportunity (at least) to consent, or disallow of them, without reducing their Dioceses to fewer Congregations than they have all along had.

Once more the holy Martyr is summon'd to bear witness to this Congregational Cause; and if he fails them there, our learned Enquirer (for a very great while at least) gives him quite over. This last is a pretty close Evidence indeed; (as * he manages it) for he makes the holy Martyr expressly say, that the Diocese of *Magnesia* had but barely one Church in it; and I'll shew you how he says it: In his Zeal for the Unity of all the Christians there, he bids || *them*

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† Πρέπει ὃ τοῖς γαμῶσι, καὶ γαμεῦσιν μετὰ γνώ-
μης τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου ἐννοεῖν ποιεῖσθαι. Ep. ad Polyc. p.
13.

* Enq. p. 29. Εἰς ναὸν Θεοῦ. Ignat. Ep. ad Mag.
p. 34.

|| Πάντες, ὡς εἰς ναὸν σωτήριε Θεοῦ ὡς ὁμὴ ἐν
δυσιασθέν — &c. Ignat. ib.

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all run one Way together, as to the Temple of God, (or as to the one Temple of God, as the old Latin Translation has it, and the learned Editor from the Florentine MSS. says it should be) and as to the one Altar; plainly exhorting them, (by way of Similitude) to Christian Unity and Communion, after the Pattern of the ancient Church of God amongst the Jews; who, tho' they had never so many Synagogues, yet they all center'd, and were united in that one Temple, and one Altar, which God had fixed for them at *Jerusalem*. But that this Comparative Way of the holy Martyr's arguing might the less be perceiv'd, our careful *Enquirer* takes no Notice of the little Particle, (*as* or *as*) but quotes the Temple of God in the Singular Number by itself, as clear to his Purpose, and gives it the Name of a Christian Church, tho' (besides this unfair Dealing in the Case) it may justly be a Question, whether *S. Ignatius* himself, or any Cotemporary Writer, ever used that Word (*Nads*) for a Place of Christian Worship at all, it being generally a Term in Primitive Writers, apply'd to Jewish or Heathen Temples; and then judge what a Proof this must be, for but one Congregation in the whole Diocese of *Magnesia*.

And now, tho' all the Churches *S. Ignatius* wrote to, were eminent Cities of the *Lydian*, or Proconsular *Asia*; most of them the Seats of publick Justice for the Province where the *Roman* Governor kept his Residence, and (which is infinitely more) were dignify'd with a singular Visitation by our blessed Lord in his great Revelation to *S. John*; and therefore scarcely
to

the Primitive Church, &c. 83

to be imagin'd such inconsiderable Churches, as our learned *Enquirer* labours to represent them to us: Yet, for fuller Satisfaction in the Case, he frankly appeals to *Antioch, Rome, Carthage, and Alexandria*, (the undoubted Metropolitan Cities of the Empire) to bear Witness to the Certainty of his Congregational Scheme; and therefore (not to neglect him) we must briefly survey them all.

Antioch was early bless'd with the glad Tidings of the Gospel; the Blood of the first Martyr became the Seeds of a Christian Church there, (as the Fathers took a pleasure to speak;) for many Christians, dispers'd upon that Occasion, resorted thither; and the first Account we have of their Labours is, * that the Hand of the Lord was with them, and a great Number believ'd and turn'd unto the Lord. Tidings of this came to the Church of Jerusalem, (where the whole College of Apostles were in readiness to consult for them.) They send Barnabas, a good Man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of Faith, to improve this happy Opportunity, and the Success answer'd their Expectation; for by his powerful Exhortations, much People (says the Holy Text) was added to the Lord. But to forward this Work of the Lord still more, Barnabas travels to Tarsus, and joins Saul, (the great Apostle of the Gentiles now) and returning with him to Antioch, they continue a whole Year together in that populous City, teaching much People. What a

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Harvest

* Acts xi. 19. Ver. 21. to ver. 27.

Harvest of Christian Converts those Apostolical Labourers made in that compass of Time, assisted by all that fled thither from *Jerusalem* besides, by the § Men of *Cyprus* and *Cyrene*, Fellow-Labourers with them, to convert the *Greeks* as well as *Jews* to the Faith; and by the several inspir'd Prophets, so peculiarly † noted to be amongst them, I refer to the sober Judgment of all who know the Fruits of many single Sermons preach'd by an Apostle, at the first Promulgation of the Gospel. Two things are sure, 1st, That the Reputation and Honour of the Converts there was such, that they laid aside the derided Name of *Nazarenes* or *Galilaeans* now, and openly assum'd the Name of their Lord and Master, * and were first call'd Christians there.

Secondly, || That there were two distinct Sects or Parties of them; Judaizing Christians, Zealous of the Law; and Gentile Converts, as earnestly insisting on their Freedom and Exemption from it: Each Party so considerable, as to call for an Apostolical Council to decide the Controversy between them.

Such was the very Infant-State of this Church of *Antioch*; the Over-sight whereof, Antiquity tells us, the great Apostle, *S. Peter*, in a peculiar Manner took upon himself, and for six or seven Years (at least) made it his first and special Apostolick See. After him, Church-History

§ Acts xi. 20.

† Acts xi. 27. and Chap. xiii. 1.

* Acts xi. 26.

|| Chap. xv. 1, 2.

History acquaints us with fourteen Bishops successively there, before the Heretick *Paulus of Samosata* was promoted to that See: In the Number of these, were those Mirrours of Learning, Zeal, Fortitude, and Piety, *Ignatius, Theophilus, and Babylas*, scarce to be equall'd in all the Monuments of the Church after the Apostles Time; whereof the first sat forty Years, and each of the other two thirteen Years together were the watchful and laborious Bishops of that exceeding vast and numerous Flock, as the Words of the learned § Doctor *Cave* are, where he speaks of S. *Ignatius's* Charge at *Antioch*.

Yet notwithstanding all the united Labours of so many Apostles, Prophets, holy Martyrs, and Confessors, to plant and improve a Christian Church in this renown'd City of the *East*, in this [Θεόπολις, or] *City of God*, as the Ancients thought fit to name it; we are borne down, that there never were more Believers in it for two hundred and seventy Years after Christ, than what could meet together in one single House of Prayer, and barely make a single Congregation.

One wou'd reasonably look for very unanswerable Evidence, to prove so extraordinary an Assertion; * especially, since this City of *Antioch*, according to S. *Chrysostome's* Calculation of it, for S. *Ignatius's* Times, contain'd no less than two hundred thousand Souls in it; and || *Tertullian* (as we have seen before) durst tell

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the

§ *Cave in the Life of Ignat.* p. 108.

* See Dr. *Cave*, *ubi supra*, p. 101.

|| *Tanta hominum multitudo, pars pene major cuiusq; civitatis.* Ad *Scap.* c. 2. p. 86.

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the persecuting *Scapula*, that the Christians then *were well nigh the greater Part of every City*. Yet all that is offer'd us to the contrary, is only this, that *Paulus of Samosata*, the Heretical Bishop of *Antioch*, after the middle of the Third Century, *refus'd to resign the Church's House*, when he was synodically depos'd by a Council held there; and this *Church's House*, (as our learned † Author will have it) must needs be the only House of Prayer or publick Worship for all that Diocese, and consequently they could make but one Congregation.

Now, that the Bishop of *Antioch* had a peculiar Church, or House of Prayer for himself (as Bishop) more immediately to Worship or Officiate in, need not be disputed; and this so peculiarly the Church's House, that so long as he was rightly possess'd of that, he was possess'd of the Church or Diocese whereof he was Bishop; and to be legally and canonically ejected out of that, was to be ejected out of the Church, be the Diocese great or small, of more or fewer Congregations belonging to it: For so, when *Constantius* the Emperor was resolved to eject * *Paulus of Constantinople* out of that Bishoprick, he order'd *Philip* the Prefect to turn him only out of one Church, (in the singular Number) and place *Macedonius* in; that is, out of that single Church where the Bishops of *Constantinople* used to reside and officiate, tho' there were

† Μηδ' αμῶς ἐκστῆναι τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ οἴκῳ. Euseb. l. 7. c. 30.

* Τὸν μὲν Παῦλον τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκβάλλει, ἀνεισάγει δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν Μακεδόνην. Socrat. E. H. l. 2. c. 16.

were sundry other Churches, long before that, built by * *Constantine* in that City, and an undoubted Part of that Bishop's Diocese. But this single Church, or House of Prayer, was so peculiarly the *Church's House*, that, by being dispossessed of that, he was entirely thrown out of the whole Church, or Diocese, of *Constantinople*: And Instances enow of this Kind might be given, if need requir'd; but I think the Case is known to be the very same in respect of any Modern Bishop's Cathedral at this Day. Yet (to come more directly to the Case before us) I think the Synod of *Antioch's* Account of *Paulus Samosatenus*, from whence this very Objection is taken, does pretty fairly prove to us, that that Heretical Bishop had more Churches under him, besides that *House of the Church* which he kept Possession of; (which 'tis question'd, indeed, whether 'twas a House of Worship or no) because, amongst the many Accusations of him, they tell us, † *he sent Presbyters out to preach up his own Praises in their Sermons to the People*; and who should these be, but Presbyters, that officiated under him within his own Jurisdiction; for the Phrase imports no Intreaty, (as if it were to Aliens not subject to him) but an Act of Authority rather, for *he sent them out to do so*: Nay, should they have been Presbyters related to another See, they are, at least, an Instance of religious Assemblies held by such, in Contradistinction to

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the

* Euseb. de vit. Const. l. 3. c. 48.

† Πρεσβυτέρους ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὴν λαὸν ὁμιλίαις, καθήκει διαλέγεσθαι. Euseb. l. 7. c. 30. p. 229.

the Bishops to whom they did belong, which overthrows the Enquirer's Congregational Scheme, take it in what Sense you please. I will not conceal what is farther said here, that he sent out *Bishops of adjacent Villages and Cities* to do the same Thing for him; (which our learned Enquirer makes farther use of in another Place, and shall be consider'd there) I shall only say here, that the judicious *Valesius* understands those Bishops to be no others than flatter-ing Chorepiscopi, which makes them a farther Part of his own Diocese still. But this alters not the present Case; and so the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, I hope, will lose but little of its Glory and Extent by one such unconcluding Argument as this.

Rome (the Metropolis of the Empire) is appeal'd to next, and allowed no greater Honour than the rest: Their Faith was early spoken of throughout the whole World; their Church founded by the two great Apostles both of *Jews and Gentiles*, and Martyrs and Confessors were zealous Pastors over them for many Generations after: Yet, for above 200 Years after Christ, our learned Enquirer will assure us, they were not improv'd to more than a single Congregation. His Demonstration is this, That * *Natalis* (a penitent Confessor in that Church) returning from the Heresy of *Theodotus*, fell down at the Feet of the Bishop, Clergy, and People, to bewail his Fault before them; and at length the Church

* Enquiry, p. 32. Περωπεσέν πρὸ Ἐπισκόπου, κλή-
ρω, λαϊκῶν, καὶ ἀπολαγχνον ἐκκλησίαν τῇ δειήσει χρη-
σάμενον. Euseb. l. 5. c. 28.

Church was touched with Compassion towards him. I shall take no Advantage of his transposing the Historian's Words here, so as to make neither Sense nor Grammar in his Quotation of them, but only set them right in the Margin, and allow the full Importance of them. The Penitent † *Natalis* (it appears) went early to the Place where the Bishop paid his Devotions, falls down before Bishop, Clergy, and People there; and with Prayers and Tears, besought the merciful Church of Christ to admit him to Communion again; which, with great Difficulty, was granted to him. Now, this could not be done, it seems, in this particular Manner; but that the whole Diocese, under the Bishop *Zephyrinus's* Jurisdiction and Care, must needs be then with him, and consequently make but one Congregation; and if we would argue so, we might affirm as well, that Christ had no Part of a Church in the World but what was there; for it was the merciful Church of the merciful Christ that he begg'd to be admitted into, and which he mov'd with his Tears; and if that particular Assembly was no otherwise so, than as it was in Unity with the one only Church of Christ upon Earth, then it would be as much so,

† Μετὰ πολλῆς πικρίας καὶ δακρύων προσεσέειν Ζεφυρίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, κυλιόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λαϊκῶν, συγχέαι τε τοῖς δάκρυσι καὶ εὐπλάγυνον Ἐκκλησίαν τῇ ἐλεήμονι Θεῷ. Χεῖρε πολλῇ τε τῇ δεήσει χρησάμενον — μόλις κοιτηγνηθῆναι. Euseb. l. 5. c. 28. p. 160. Edit. Paris, 1678.

so, if there were twenty other Congregations belonging to it, in the same Union and Communion with it, as if it were the only one that the whole Diocese had. But, to be plainer in the Case, and bring it home to our own Times, should such a Case, as *Natalis's* was, happen in any Christian Church at this Day, and the Bishop be found at his Devotions with any of his Clergy about him, (as in his own Cathedral 'tis scarcely to be known when he can be found without them, and in the Primitive Church, where the Orders of *them* they call'd the Clergy were many more than now, to be sure they never were) and should the penitent Suppliant kneel before them all, and, in a full Congregation of the People, ask the Pardon of the Church; might not an *English* Historian (do we think) say, that this humble Penitent fell down at the Feet of the Bishop, Clergy, and People, and yet the Bishop have considerably more of both Kinds within his Diocese and Jurisdiction, than were personally present at this particular Solemnity? Surely one would think he might: And yet not a tittle more than this is said in the Penitent *Natalis's* Case; for there is not so much as the useful Phrase, of *all the Clergy*, or *all the People*, offer'd us to help us out here, which in many of our Enquirer's foregoing Quotations he laid so great a Stress upon, tho' the Construction was far from being just and reasonable there.

To strengthen this Instance of *Natalis's* Case, there are five Reasons more offer'd us, but every one of them Repetitions of what had been said

said before. For * here we are twice told again, that *all the Brethren met together in the Church to choose a Bishop when the See was vacant*; which I have expressly shewn to be affirm'd of Elections in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Centuries, when all the World knows the Dioceses had Congregations enow in each of them. Two other Reasons are, that *all met to concur in sending Salutations and Letters to other Churches, and to hear such read*. And lastly, that *the Church of Rome had so peculiarly but one Altar, that the second, which Novatian erected, was called a Prophane Altar*. For each of which Reasons, I only refer the Reader to what has been said of them before, who (I believe) will be sorry with me to see such Arguments rely'd upon in so important a Cause; and so often repeated, to appear many.

In the mean time, the Church of *Rome* is far better represented to us by *Cornelius* (the truly Apostolical Bishop of it) in the Third Century; who tells us, there were then no less than forty six Presbyters in it; which, if compared with the Number of Assemblies in each City, the Erecting new and larger Christian Churches in them all, mention'd by *Eusebius* within the same Century, (*Eccl. Hist. l. 8. c. 1.*) fairly implying that they had old and smaller ones even before them; we need not be at a Loss to conceive what sort of Services those numerous Presbyters were engaged in: For 'twas to minister, no doubt of it, in many of those particular Oratories they were

* Enquiry, p. 32, 33.

were then possess'd of; as you will the easier agree to, if you consider what *Cornelius* farther says of it, that besides those † *forty six Presbyters*, they had *seven Deacons*, *seven Sub-Deacons*, *forty two Acolyths*; *Exorcists*, *Readers*, and *Door-keepers fifty two*; (all necessary (says he) to the Service of the Church) besides *Widows*, *Impotent*, and *Poor above fifteen hundred*, living on the Alms of the Church; and answerable to all this, a vast innumerable Multitude of People in it, as the Holy Bishop's Words expressly are.

This is so authentick an Account of that Primitive Church of *Rome*, as I believe the most zealous Advocates for the Congregational Way will not pretend to call in Question; but how they can reconcile it to their own Scheme, I leave to themselves.

I enlarge not here, on the transcendent Liberality of this single Church, by which § they supported many other Churches in every City, (as *Dionysius* of *Corinth* bears witness for them) relieving their Poor, and maintaining their Christian Slaves that were condemn'd to the Mines. Nay, the other *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* affirms,

† Πρεσβυτέρους τεσσαράκοντα ἑξ, διακόνους ἑπτὰ, ὑποδιακόνους ἑπτὰ, ἀκολύθους δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, ἑξορκιστὰς καὶ ἀναγνώστας ἅμα πυλωροὺς δύο καὶ πενήκοντα· χίρας σὺν θλιβομένοις ὑπὸ τὰς χιλίας πεντακοσίας, ὡς πάντας ἢ τὸ δεσπότε χάρις καὶ φιλανθρωπία διατρέφει πούτο πλήθος καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ πληθύνειν μὲν καὶ μεγαίνειν καὶ ἀναειδήμην λαόν. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 43.

§ Ἐκκλησίαις πολλαῖς ταῖς καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν, ἐν μέγαλοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ὀπχορηγῶντας. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 4. c. 23.

affirms, That the || whole Country of Arabia and all the Provinces of Syria were abundantly reliev'd by the Church of Rome alone. Compute then the Numerous Clergy, the List of Widows, of the Afflicted and Poor, which we have just now seen this single Church continually maintain'd at home; and if not many Rich, not many Noble were called, one would be even forc'd to think, that Legions, at least, of a middle Fortune must be in it, to raise such extraordinary Contributions as these.

Nor will I insist on the positive Account the judicious * Mr. Mede gives us of particular Churches, or Titles, (as they were then call'd) that were founded in this Church of Rome in the Second Century, tho' he quotes the very Names and Qualities of them that founded them. Enough has been said (I hope) to vindicate this Imperial City from the hard Imputation of yielding no better Fruits of the Great Apostles, Saints and Martyrs Blood, that was shed in it, than what amounted to a single Congregational Church for three hundred Years together.

Carthage shares with Rome in this; and as she was Rival once in Glory, she must be as little in her Christian Converts now: The great † Tertullian magnify'd indeed that Native City of his, and well nigh defy'd the persecuting Governors

|| Αἱ μὲν τοὶ Συεῖαι ὅλοι, καὶ ἡ Ἀραβία οἷς ἐπαρχεῖτε ἐκδόσε. Ib. l. 7. c. 5.

* See Mede's Works, Book 2. P. 327. Edit. 4. in 1677.

† Tertull. ad Scapul. c. 2, p. 86. Edit. Rigalt. 2. Lutet. 1641.

vernors with glorying in the numerous Multitudes of Believers there; but all (it seems) were a meer parochial Congregation: This is somewhat strange, especially to those who know the glorious Figure the Church of Carthage made, and the mighty Influence it had in all Affairs of the Christian World, in the *Cyprianick* Age. Yet let us hear the Evidence that is given for it; for that's but just and reasonable.

The first Reason offer'd is this, because † *the Bishop of that Diocese could know every one therein*. Now, I'll but state the Case of this Quotation, and you'll quickly see the Determination in it: S. Cyprian was now in Banishment, he writes to two *African* Bishops, (*Caldonius* and *Herculanus*) and with them to *Rogatian* and *Numidicus*, (two of his own Presbyters) || that they should take Care to relieve the Necessities of the Poor, out of the Contribution of the Brethren; and if any of them would work at their own Trades, and yet could not fully provide for their Families, they should allow them something towards it; and in doing this, he directs them to inform themselves carefully of the different

† *Enquiry. p. 34. Ut omnes optime nossent. Cyp. Ep. 38. § 1. or in Oxon. Edit. Ep. 41.*

|| Cumque ego vos pro me vicarios miserim, ut expungeretis necessitates fratrum nostrorum sumptibus, si qui etiam vellent suas artes exercere, additamento, quantum satis esset, desideria eorum juvaretis; simul etiam & ætates eorum, & conditiones, & merita discerneretis; ut jam nunc Ego, qui cura incumbit, omnes optime nossent, & dignos quoque & humiles & mites ad Ecclesiasticæ administrationis officia permoverem. *Cyp. Ep. 41. ut supra.*

different Ages, Condition, and Merits of the Men, to the end that *I myself*, (says he) upon whom this Care lies, may forthwith thoroughly know them all, and if any of them be humble, meek, and worthy of it, I may put them into some Office of the Church. I appeal to the Words, Context, and learned Annotations upon the Place, if this be not the genuine Sense of it; wherein, therefore, these two Things are plain:

First, That the *All* here spoken of, were only the List, or *Matricula*, of the *Necessitous* and Poor ones in the Diocese. And,

Secondly, That *S. Cyprian* had so little personal Knowledge of them and their Condition, that he employ'd the Bishops and Presbyters he wrote to, to send him the best Information they could get of that Matter; and this is brought as a Proof, that *the Bishop of that Diocese could know every one in it*; which, I think, is as clear a Proof of the contrary, as one could expect to meet with.

And yet, the second Argument upon this Head, is drawn from this very Passage again; for from this Direction to the Bishops and Presbyters, to relieve all that wanted out of the Contributions of the Brethren, by making a wrong Stop in the Construction of it, he possesses his Reader, * that the *Debts and Necessities* of all the Brethren were defray'd at the single Expence of the Bishop; and then breaks out into Admiration
at

* Rigaltius's Note (approv'd by Bishop Fell, upon the Place) is this, *cujus necessitas beneficentia fratrum sublecebatur, ejus & nomen expungebatur.*

at the many thousand Pounds he must needs have expended, if his Diocese had some *Scores* of Parishes in it ! which is a meer *Chimara* of his own forming ; for S. *Cyprian's* Words import no more, than that he was common Almoner or Curator for the Poor of his Diocese, and therefore gave Order to his Agents in Trust for him, to take what care they could in it ; which how far it is from proving any Diocese to be a meer Congregational Church, I have shewn at large already.

A third Argument is the very same which he gave us before, (Pag. 19.) viz. || that *the Bishop celebrated the Sacrament, the whole Brotherhood being present* ; and I have shewn here above (at Pag. 62.) the unfair Representation of that Passage, and that the Inference was not true.

Fourthly, But it is farther urg'd, * that *all the People could hear and see the Reader Celerinus, when he read from the Pulpit* ; and I doubt not, but *when, and where* he read, it was so. But these general Expressions, throughout this whole Cause, without regard to the common Acceptation of all Mankind, admit of no Limitations ; but if *all the People* heard him, it must not be understood of *all that were present*, but of *all the Diocese* to a Man ; tho' S. *Cyprian*, † not above six Lines lower, speaking of him again, says only, *who-soever hears him, should imitate his Faith* : And

Balsamon,

|| *Enquiry*, p. 35.

* *Enquiry*, ib. Plebi universæ. Cypr. Ep. 34. or in Edit. Oxon. 39.

† *Lectoris fidem quisquis audierit imitetur.* Ib.

Balsamon, I find, describing the Office of a Reader in general, at a time, when every Church that had any Reader at all, had many Congregations in it, expresses himself in much the same Terms, and, as the Translator renders it, makes him read so, || that every one heard him, as *Suicer* observes from him. Besides, that there were several Readers in this Church of *Carthage*, is very sure: This *Celerinus*, with *Aurelius*, were two new ones just Ordain'd by *S. Cyprian* in his Exile, and added to them that serv'd the Church in his Absence: And he tells them, * he's sure they'd wish to have many more such.

The Number of his Presbyters is as visible in all his Writings too; and though Men may form imaginary Offices and Employments for so many chargeable Ministers in one Congregation, when Christians had reason enough to be as frugal as they possibly could; yet a more natural and reasonable Account of them, I believe, will never be given, than that they had several Oratories to attend, especially in that State of Dispersion they were then in, when 'tis scarcely conceivable they should hold so formidable an Assembly together, even if they could; and it is not a little remarkable, how often *S. Cyprian* complains of such and such Presbyters admitting the Lapsed to Communion, whilst others were commended for not doing so; which,

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if

|| Ἐπὶ κοινῇ ἀπελάσει ἀναγινώσκειν. *Omnibus audientibus.* See *Suicer* ad vocem Ἀναγνώσκειν.

* Scio vos optare tales in Ecclesia nostrâ quamplurimos ordinari. Ep. 38. p. 75. Edit. Oxon.

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if they all united in one Assembly together, I think is not to be conceived.

'Tis plain, the barbarous Proconsul *Paternus*, who condemn'd *S. Cyprian* himself, understood they had more Places for Religious Assemblies than one, when he told him, the Emperors *Valerian* and *Gallienus* || commanded there should be no Meetings in any Places, and that they should not enter into their *Cœmeteries*, (in the Plural Number) as the Words in the Margin shew.

If I could attend Repetitions, with more Patience than I have already done, here was a great deal more Work for me still; for here we have the current Arguments again, of all the People being present, consulted, and approving Ordinations, Elections, Church-Censures, Absolutions, and the like: Now, so far as this Manner of their being present at these Acts of Discipline, prove the Diocese to be a bare single Congregation, I have fully consider'd them before, and therefore may justly supersede them here. And so far as they refer to a pretended Right or Jurisdiction of the People in the Government of the Church, we shall find them press'd upon us again and again still, and under that Consideration I shall examine them farther as they lie in my Way. In the mean time, I shall leave the Church of *Carthage*, with this authentick Testimony for her, That as little as she was in her flourishing Times of Peace and Safety, the

|| Præcipiunt ne in aliquibus locis conciliabula fiant, nec Cœmeteria ingrediantur. *Cypr. Pass. ex Vet. Cod. MSS. in Pontii Vit. Cypr.*

the Number of her *Lapsed Members only*, was such in the *Decian Persecution*, * that thousands of Tickets were daily granted by the Martyrs and Confessors on their Behalf, to procure their Reconciliation to the Church ; and many of those Tickets, not for single Persons, but for themselves and Friends together ; † for so their holy Bishop expressly tells the *Roman Presbyters* and *Deacons*, and reprov'd the overforward Martyrs and Confessors themselves for it ; and what manner of single Congregation such a Church should make, before the fatal Fall of so vast a Number of her Members, and after their blessed Union again, I leave to any Impartial Man to judge.

The last Diocese, consider'd by our learned Enquirer, is that of *Alexandria* ; and had he happily begun (instead of ending) with this, one would be apt to think it might have prevented the Trouble of all the rest ; for if ever any Author gave up his whole Cause at once, I think it may be seen here. His main Point all along contended for, was this, that every Primitive Diocese for three hundred Years together, consisted only of a single Congregation ; but now the Force of Truth constrains him to confess,

H 2

fects,

* Sine ullo discrimine atq; examine singulorum darentur quotidie libellorum millia. *Cypr. Ep. 20. Edit. Oxon.*

† Quibusdam sic libellos feri, ut dicatur, *communicet cum suis* — & possunt nobis vicini, & triceni & amplius offerri, qui propinqui & affines, & liberti ac domestici esse asseverentur ejus qui accipit libellum. *Cypr. Ep. 15. Edit. Oxon. p. 35.*

ness, || that the Christians of Alexandria, within the third Century, divided themselves into several distinct and separate Congregations, and all subjected to one Bishop. These are his own Words, and what need have we then, you'll say, of any farther Controversy? I confess, I should think no need at all, only it is not amiss we should see what Management is us'd with this dangerous Evidence, (who extorted this Candid Confession from him) that he might not hurt the Congregational Cause after all.

'Twas a Passage in *Dionysius*, the holy Bishop of *Alexandria* himself, that inclin'd our zealous Enquirer to this gentle Temper; for this, § says he, is clearly enough asserted by *Dionysius*, who mentions the distinct Congregations in the extremest Suburbs of the City.

To make this hard Testimony a little more pliant to this Purpose, we have this ingenious Comment upon it, That these † Congregations were only a Chappel of Ease within the Suburbs of *Alexandria*, for the Conveniency of some Members, who liv'd too far off to come to their usual Meeting-House, so often as they held Assemblies there; (being every Lord's-Day, Saturday, Wednesday, and Friday;) and therefore 'twas concerted between the Bishop and his People, that they should erect this Chappel, or these Chappels for themselves; and, upon solemn Occasions, should

|| Enq. p. 38.

§ Enq. p. 39.

† Ἐν περὶ αἰσίοις πορρωτέρω κειμένοις καὶ μέγῃ ἐσονταί συναγωγαί. *Advers. Germanum apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 11.*

should all meet in the one Mother-Church, and so continue but one Congregational Church still.

In which Comment, we have a great Example of what Zeal will do for a bad Cause. For,

First, This single Chappel, or these distinct Congregations (for they are named in both Capacities) are positively said to be within the *extremest* Suburbs (at least) of the City of *Alexandria*; tho' *Dionysius* himself says only, † *as it were within such Suburbs*; and thus you may remember this wary Author did, in another Quotation, § leave out this little Particle [*ὡς, or as it were*] to very good Purpose; and so it is here, for a Chappel within the Suburbs, tho' it were in the remotest of them all, in the vulgar Acceptation of them amongst us, would suit pretty well with an *English* Parish still, which more Congregations, a little farther off, would scarce do so well. And,

Secondly, All this Matter must be represented as a singular Case, concerted between the Bishop and his People, that they should not only erect this Chappel, or Chappels for their own Ease, but engage themselves upon solemn Occasions to assemble in one and the same Church with him still, and so be a meer Congregational Diocese, notwithstanding these multiply'd Congregations in it. For all which, there is not one tittle of Warrant or Authority in *Dionysius's* own Narrative of it, but enough to shew a very different Case from it.

H 3

I have

† Ὡς ἐν περασίοις πορρωτέρω κειμένοις καὶ μέρῳ συναγωγαί. Euseb. ib.

§ Vide pag. 81. *supra*.

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I have had Occasion given to consider this whole Case of the Church of *Alexandria* before, * to which I refer the Reader, for fuller Information in it; and only remind him here, (as a Help to understand this short Comment) that the Place where these distinct Congregations were held, was in and about *Colluthio*, in the Region of *Maraotis*, which was a different *Nomos*, or District of *Egypt*, from that of *Alexandria*, both in the *Macedonian* and *Roman* Division of it. *Ptolemy* distinguishes each of them as separate Regions by themselves, as our learned † *Dr. Heylin* also does, who tells us, that *Plinthine* and *Hierax* were the chief Towns in the Region call'd *Maraotica*; and how large a Country it was, and distinct from *Alexandria*, the Contrivance of the *Arians* shews, who set up *Ischyrius*, the pretended Presbyter, for another Bishop there; knowing, doubtless, there was Scope and District enough for another Diocese, (even in the Notion and Practice of the Fourth Century) for they never presum'd so far as to make him Bishop of *Alexandria* itself. But we need no other Evidence, sure, in our present Case, than that the holy Bishop of *Alexandria* we are now speaking of, was, at this Time, confin'd in this very Place in the Condition of a banish'd Man, and where (he tells us) || Christians never had resided before, till his Name and Sufferings had brought these several Congregations

* Vide supra, p. 6. & p. 49.

† See Heylin's *Cosmog.* p. 929. Edit. 2. Lond. 1657.

|| Ἐρημον μὲν ἀδελφῶν τὸ χωρίον ταῖς ὃ ἦ ὁδοῖς πορεύων ἐνοχλήσεσι καὶ ληστῶν κατὰ δεσμοαῖς ἐγκλείμενον. — ἡ χθὲς ἐθὺν καὶ λίαν ἐχάλεπνον. Euseb. ib. l. 7. c. 11.

gregations of them into the Country round about; it being a Place infested with Vagrants and Robbers to that very Day, and where he was much afflicted (as he says himself) to hear that he must go. Judge what a Kind of Suburb this must be to his own City of *Alexandria* then; I mean, in our Modern and *English* Notion of a Suburb, for whose Sake this Comment is made, and in which Sense only the plausible Contrivance of a *Chappel of Ease* could have any Show of Reason in it. For if he would allow it to be understood in the ancient Acceptation of the Word, wherein † Suburbs comprehended large adjacent Countries, whose Towns and Villages were the peculiar Cures of Presbyters under the Bishop of the Diocese wherein they lay, we should not need to dispute about it. But such a Primitive Construction as this could no ways clear his Point here, but would give his Citizens *Chappel of Ease* a most unwarrantable Situation; and yet 'tis plain, that *Dionysius* himself did not then take the Place here mention'd, for a Suburb of this City, even in his extensive Notion of it neither; else he had never said, *as it were in remoter Suburbs*, had it actually been there. Not to mention how unprecedented a thing it is, to affix the more modern Term of a *Chappel of Ease*, to any Place of publick Worship in those Primitive Times; where, I conceive, neither Name nor Thing is in any Author to be found.

To speak the least we can then in this present Case; it is very plain, that some fair Symptoms

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of

† See *Valesius's Annot. on these very Words*, Κατὰ μέ-
 ρεσιν ὡσαύτως. In *Euseb. ib.*

of a modern Episcopal Church did appear in this Primitive one of *Alexandria*; and no wonder it should be so, since the great Evangelist *S. Mark* had, in his own time, converted and settled many Congregations of Christians in the very City itself, as § *Eusebius* tells us, who calls them *Churches*, (in the Plural Number) without any cautious Distinction of Chappels of Ease, or any thing in Name or Nature like it, to make them a parochial Diocese still, but took care to leave upon Record, that one single Bishop successively presided over all: And one can't but think it strange, to see an *English* Pen so very industrious to deface the genuine Characters of this Primitive Church; when they do no more than bear witness to the venerable Apostolical Constitution, which the Providence of God, and our own Spiritual Superiors, have provided for ourselves at home.

But, once more, tho' great Imperial Cities may make a Show of being more than Congregational Churches, yet what can we say of Bishops plac'd in Villages? Does not that prove, that their Diocese could be no greater? If it proves any thing, it must prove their Jurisdiction to reach no farther than their Village too, which I never yet could hear of. To be a Bishop in a Village, and of a Village, are very different things; and should an *Englishman* read no more than the History of his Native Country only, he'd find a Bishop's See, ever and anon, fix'd in a Village, (as properly so call'd as any Episcopal Village in

§ Ἐκκλησίας ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας συνήσταται.
Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. 2. c. 16.

in ancient or modern History whatsoever) and yet his Territories and Dominions as fruitful in Parishes and Churches under him, as any City Diocese in the Land besides.

But this Argument is exhausted by the excellent Dr. *Maurice* long ago; and Episcopal Villages survey'd with such Patience, and the Objections from them confuted with such Learning and Reason, in his admirable Defence of *Diocesan* Episcopacy, that one would little think it should appear in Publick again. Yet I will not wholly pass by the Authorities that are offer'd for it here.

I shall join the two first of them together, because in the Application here made of them, they really are an Answer to one another. *Clemens Romanus* tells us, that § the Apostles preaching both in Country and City, constituted Bishops and Deacons there. Thus he translates the Words of *Clemens* in the Margin, tho' thro' Regions and Cities are at least as genuine a Translation, as that; and by the Precedency of *Regions* in the Text, they may more naturally be understood of *Provinces* or Countries in the largest Sense of them, than of meer Country Villages. But let us hear what *S. Cyprian* adds to this: *Bishops* (says he) were Ordain'd, throughout all *Provinces* and all *Cities*.

Now by our Author's quoting these two Fathers to the same purpose, (as he tells us he did) he has all the reason in the World to understand *S. Clemens's Countries*, and the *Provinces* mention'd

§ Καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον
εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους. Ep. 1. ad Corinth.
p. 54.

mention'd by S. Cyprian, to be the same thing: And since the latter never understood *Provinces* in any other Sense, than as *large Tracts of Countries*, containing Cities, Towns and Villages in them; so by Parity of Reason, he ought to allow, that S. Clemens meant such sort of *Countries* too; and then both *Cities* and *Countries* might originally have Bishops set over them, and not a Village have a Bishop in it still; which I have only taken Notice of, to shew how little these two Quotations prove the thing they were intended for; since, if they were equivalent, or *much to the same purpose*, (as our Author says they are) they make no Proof, I think, of Village-Bishopricks at all. But I have † elsewhere otherways accounted for the doubtful and undetermin'd Sense of S. Clemens's Bishops, in the *Age* he wrote in; to which I may refer the Reader for farther Satisfaction in the Case.

Another Argument there is from an Instance of a Bishop in **Comane*, which, I am free to own, the Historian calls a *Village*, and dispute not, but it really was so; for I have shewn above, that Villages may have a Bishop's See in them, (tho' Examples in Antiquity are rarely to be found indeed) and yet their Jurisdiction be large enough too; and that *Comane* was of that kind, may the rather be presum'd, || since it appears, that that particular Place had a Bishop's Seat in it, even in the Fifth Century,

† Vide supra, Ch. I. p. 22, 24.

* Ζωσιμόν ἐπὶ Κομάνης πόλεως. Euseb. H. E. l. 5. c. 16.

|| Episcopus Comanenus memoratur in Epistola Episcoporum Pamphyliae ad Leonem Aug. See *Vales. in Euseb. ubi supra*, & *Concil. Chalced.* Part 3. p. 391.

Century, and at the time of the Council of *Chalcedon*; when, I believe, no Man thinks there was any one Bishop in the Christian Church, that had no more than a single Village for his Diocese. In a word, 'tis strange to see what narrow Search is made, to find here and there an Instance of this kind, amongst so many thousand Bishopricks as the History of the Church affords; whereas, had Villages been Bishops Sees by Apostolical Institution, (wherever any Congregation could be gather'd in them) the Advantage in Number, one would think, should soon have been on their side, in the general Account of Episcopal Churches in the Christian World.

But 'tis surmiz'd still, that there must have been many Bishops of Villages, and very obscure Villages too, amongst those 78 Bishops that sat in Council with *S. Cyprian*, (in the Year 258) because we don't meet with the Names of many of their Sees in *Ptolemy*, or the old Geographers. Now, whatever may be missing in the ancient Geography, (here referr'd to) 'tis plain, that every Diocese, named in that Council, is very learnedly accounted for by the venerable Editor of the *Oxford* Edition of *S. Cyprian's* Works, in his Notes upon it; partly from those ancient Geographers themselves, and partly from other Authors of unquestionable Credit in the Case; such as *Antoninus*, *Optatus*, *S. Austin*, *Victor Vitenfis*, the *Notitia Africa*, *Collatio Carthaginensis*, and the like. And as they are generally styl'd *Cities* in direct Terms; so, if one in twenty of them should be suspected to be otherwise, it neither proves their Dioceses to be single Congregations, (as we have
seen

seen before) nor should be thought strange in the Confines of those inhospitable Countries, where the Natives rarely multiply'd their Cities, yet were numerous in their lesser dispersed Corporations, and becoming Christians must have their Bishops seated in the most convenient Mansion for them all. Such Instances in the more unciviliz'd and desert Parts of the World are unquestionably to be found: But to take a Model of the Christian Church from them, is peculiar only to a few Authors in our own Times.

To close this Cause and the Second Chapter together, we have *Justin Martyr's* Sundays-Assemblies once more recommended to our better Consideration, and *S. Ignatius's* strict Charge to the *Magnesians* to keep in close Union with their Bishop; which, without going all to his single House of Prayer, our Enquirer seems to think impracticable. But how different the Sense of those holy Fathers is from what is here put upon them, I have shewn at large * before; and hope so genuine a Construction of them, being plainly conformable also to the Principles and Practice of the Catholick Church of Christ, will find no hard Admittance with any peaceful Friend of the like Primitive Constitution in our own native Country and Times.

CHAP.

* Vide supra, p. 44, & p. 46.

C H A P. III.

*Enquiry into the Constitution, &c. of the
Primitive Church, &c.*

THE Bishop's Flock (we have seen in the former Chapters) is moderate and small enough: His Duty is now represented to the full: The Particulars are many, and yet but little controverted (as this learned Author observes) on either side; they are with great Exactness summ'd up in this Place, to introduce the absolute Necessity of his *residing constantly* upon his Cure; which in the next Paragraph is so earnestly insisted upon. And in that View of them, I can't but take Notice, that the several Acts of the Episcopal Function (here mention'd) are many of them so represented by the Authors he quotes about them, as to imply an inherent Right in the Bishop, of ordering and disposing the Discharge of them, as much as a personal Obligation upon him to discharge them all himself. Thus, for instance, in the Act of *Preaching*; Origen here quoted, to prove it was the *Bishop's Duty*, * elsewhere informs us, that the *Bishop commanded him to preach*, and enjoin'd him the very Subject he should preach upon; (*Enquiry* Pag. 58.) which shews the Bishop to be as much,

at

* Origen. in Ezek. Hom. 3. Origen. Hom. de Engastrim. p. 28. Vol. 1.

at least, a Spiritual Guardian of the holy Ordinance, oblig'd by his Function to provide effectually for the doing of it, as that he was personally bound to do it himself; and allowing but one Congregation in a Diocese, 'twas a temporary Dispensation to him, from performing that Duty; and what could any one say, should that Bishop have oftner done such an innocent thing again? § *Sozomen* goes farther indeed, and tells us, 'twas a Custom in the Church of Rome, for neither Bishop nor any one else to preach there; upon which the learned *Valesius* notes, that no Sermon of a Bishop of that Church was ever extant before those of *Leo* the Great, (which was in the Fifth Century) and quotes *Cassiodorus* to confirm what *Sozomen* said. (An authentick Witness, who was both Senator and Historian, in the City of Rome itself.) I infer no more from this, than what barely relates to the Case before me, namely, that the Bishop's continual Preaching to their People (which our Enquirer here † asserts) was not universal, at least, in the Primitive Churches themselves.

Again, as to the Administration of the holy Sacrament of Baptism, *Tertullian* is here brought to prove it an Act of the Bishop's Function, and undoubtedly it is included in it: But let us take it in the ancient Father's own Words, which

are

§ Οὐτε ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἔτε ἄλλος τις ἐνθάδε ἐπὶ Ἐκκλησίας διδάσκει. *Sozom. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 19.*
& *Vales. Annot. ib.*

† *Enq. p. 44. § 2.*

are these; * *The Right of giving Baptism is in the Bishop, and from thence in the Presbyters and Deacons, if he authorize them for it.* I only note this Language of the Ancients, and this Practice in the Primitive Times, to shew that the Flock of Christ might be fed, and the ordinary saving Ordinances of the Church administred in a Diocese, tho' the Bishop should not *constantly* act in his own Person; and that he was not wanting to his Function, where he effectually provided that every Act of it was perform'd to the Edification and Occasions of his People. Personal Presence is undoubtedly the truest and most faithful Means of discharging any Trust in the World, and much more of this high and heavenly one; but 'tis more extraordinary, to hear it press'd so hard from a Congregational Hand, who makes a Diocese but a single Auditory, and tho' there should be forty or fifty Presbyters, which, in his Account of them, are as truly Apostolical Bishops in their Order, as the very *supreme one* himself, yet can't allow *that single Pastor*, upon the most important Affair, to be absent for a while, tho' he should depute them all to watch over his little Flock, which could make but one Congregation for them. But,

He urges S. Cyprian's awful Opinion in the Case, who reckons this Sin of *Non-residency*, as one Occasion of God's Wrath upon the Church, in the *Decian* Persecution: And I believe indeed, it would be thought no better of, *even in this*, or in any other Age besides, if we should take in all the other Aggravations that holy Martyr there

there charges it withal : He complains, || *that Bishops left their Dioceses, to follow sordid Merchandize Abroad, to purchase Farms by Fraud and Extorsion, to enrich themselves by Use upon Use, neglecting to relieve the Brethren that were starving in the Church. Such Non-residency might draw down Judgments upon a Church indeed, but will hardly prove, that no Occasions (how just, innocent, or important soever) can excuse the temporary Absence of a Bishop from his See, where every District in his Diocese has Subordinate Pastors provided for it, to administer every necessary Ordinance of the Church to all his People in it. That holy Bishop and Martyr (we know) was a considerable time Absent himself; the Occasion was extraordinary, 'tis true, and I mention it for no other End than this, that Matter of Fact may inform us, a Diocese is capable to be provided for, in such a Case as that; and the Example of that blessed Bishop will shew us how : ** For tho' absent in Body, (says he,) *I was neither wanting in Spirit, in Act, or Admonitions to them; but by my Episcopal Authority, I still restrain'd such Presbyters and Deacons, as were remiss and negligent* in

|| Episcopi plurimi de relictâ cathedrâ, plebe desertâ, per alias provincias oberrantes, negotiationis quætuosæ nundinas aucupari; esurientibus in Ecclesiâ fratribus non subvenire, habere argentum largiter velle, fundos insidiosis fraudibus rapere, usuris multiplicantibus fœnus augere. *Cypr. de Lapsis. § 4. Edit. Oxon. p. 123.*

* Absens corpore, nec spiritu, nec actu, nec monitis meis defui — Presbyteris & Diaconibus non defuit sacerdotii vigor ut quidam minus disciplinæ memores — comprimerentur, intercedentibus nobis. Ep. 20.

in the Discipline of the Church. In a word, therefore, those Spiritual Stewards of the Lord's Household will have a hard Account to give, (they may be sure of it) if whensoever their Lord cometh, he finds them not watching: But by what Rules of Equity, that Watchfulness he enjoins them, shall be judg'd acceptable at the last Day, is reserv'd to himself alone, who knows the Heart, and knows the Occasions of Man, and judgeth not by Appearance, but judgeth according to Truth. This is Matter of Awe enough to every Servant in his Family; and, at the same time, proves how unwarrantable it is too, for any but their Lord and Master alone, to judge of their Service: As the excellent *S. Cyprian* elsewhere speaks, even in respect of one Bishop censuring another.

The next Enquiry is, how a Bishop was anciently elected into a vacant See; which is thus determin'd for us: 1st, * " That all the Mem-
 " bers of the *Parish or Bishoprick*, (for we must
 " admit them for equivalent Terms still) both
 " Clergy and Laity, commonly met, to choose
 " a fit Person for his Successor, to whom *they might*
 " *commit the Care and Government of their Church.*
 " 2^{dly}, Whomsoever the People had thus elected
 " a Bishop, they presented to their Neighbouring
 " Bishops for their Approbation and Consent,
 " lest the People thro' Ignorance or Affection
 " should choose an unfit or unable Man for that
 " sacred Office; (as our learned Author modest-
 " ly surmizes for them) it being suppos'd, (says
 I " he)

* *Enquiry*, p. 46, 47, and 49.

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“he) that a Synod of Bishops might be wiser
 “Judges in the Case. 3dly, A Bishop thus
 “elected and confirm’d, is to have his *Ordina-*
 “tion or *Instalment* (for these must pass for equi-
 “vocal Words too) in his own Church, by
 “the Neighbouring Bishops, and that by Imposi-
 “tion of their Hands.

These were the three necessary Requisites (it seems) for the filling of any vacant Bishoprick in the Primitive Times; and the two former, so equally necessary, that ’tis* concluded, “Neither the Choice of the Bishops of the Voisinage, without the Consent of the People, nor the Election of the People, without the Approbation of those Bishops, was sufficient and valid of itself”: And after both, the Ceremony of *Ordination* or *Instalment* was to finish all.

Here is an excellent Primitive Practice, with variety of Reading, and not a little Art (I fear) represented to us. And, because it has somewhat more than ordinary Relation to some unfortunate Controversies in our own Times, which our ingenious Author so affectionately desir’d to compose and heal for us, I must take leave to observe, that it is not the ancient Practice of the Church which has so much occasion’d unhappy Controversies in the Case, as the Representation of it in such a singular Manner as we have it here. By examining the Particulars apart, we shall see more of it.

In

* Ib. p. 49.

In the Vacancy of a See, (says he) all the Members of it, (Clergy and Laity) met together, to choose a fit Person for a Successor; and it need not be disputed between us, but that in many Dioceses (tho' not in all) they commonly did so; provided that by choosing here, we may be allow'd to understand what our Enquirer himself fairly intimates to us, that 'twas no more than to pitch upon a Person acceptable to themselves, whom they might propose and recommend to the Neighbouring Bishops, for their Consent and Approbation, (for his own Scheme runs so) that is, for those Bishops to accept or refuse him, as they should think fit; for where we sue for Approbation or Consent, we must allow a Right and Power to disapprove and dissent too.

But then the next Words in the Enquiry run higher than so, and may mislead the Reader, if he be not well aware of it: *They met (says he) to choose a Successor, to whom they might commit the Care and Government of their Church.* This is somewhat more (sure) than preparing to recommend to others; 'tis plainly attributing to them a considerable Share (at least) of original Right and Power invested in them, to dispose of their Bishoprick to the Person they should please to choose. And we need not doubt, but that our learned Author intended they should be understood so; since in another † Place, where he treats directly of the Acts and Powers of the Lay-Members of a Church, he affirms in plain

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Terms,

† See Enq. p. 103.

Terms, that *they had a Power* not only to el the Person of their Bishop, but to *depose him too*, in case he prov'd Scandalous, Heretical, or the like.

Now what this Lay-Power was, in constituting Bishops of old, and from whence it came, is the Point in question; and for the easier Solution of it, we need only carefully observe these Two things: 1st, What the holy Scriptures themselves teach us concerning the divine Institution of this sacred Office and Power of Constituting and Ordaining Bishops and Pastors in the Church, together with the Manner it was first executed and put in Practice in the very Apostolical Age itself. And, 2^{dly}, What Account we meet with of the same thing, in the following Ecclesiastical Records of Fathers, Councils, or Historians, in the Ages very near approaching to the first.

These two great Authorities (impartially compar'd together) will teach us to distinguish fairly, between a Divine Right, Authority, and Power, of ordaining Elders in the Church, completely and absolutely convey'd (by the Fountain of all Power) to the single Persons of the first Spiritual Rulers of it, without the Concurrence of any Popular Election, on the one hand; and the wise and prudent Rules and Methods which the succeeding Governors in many Parts of the Church laid down for themselves in the Use and Practice of that Ordaining Power, so entirely convey'd down to them, on the other. And if this short and clear Distinction were but duly attended to, and without Prejudice apply'd to the present Dispute before us, the Adversaries

saries on both sides might happily find their Account in it, and come nearer to compromise their fatal (tho' unnecessary) Difference about it. For, if the former Part or Member of this Distinction appear true, (which I shall particularly consider by and by) then such as disallow the Necessity of Popular Elections in the Case, (call them by what Name we please) must, at least, have a fair Appearance of a very important Plea (even from the holy Scriptures themselves) for their Opinion of it; and on the other side, if very Primitive Bishops, succeeding in the Places, Character, and Power of those earlier Predecessors of theirs in the Christian Church, did form Rules or Canons by mutual Consent amongst themselves, not to exercise that Ordaining Power and Office (so invested in them) any otherwise than in the Presence, and with the general Approbation of the Church or People, over which the Person so ordain'd, was intended to preside; then the Advocates for this Popular Claim, Interest, or Right (call it what you will) of bearing some Part also, in electing and constituting a Bishop over them, may have plausible Precedents of Ecclesiastical Antiquity to recommend their Plea for it too: Which two Points, I humbly conceive, contain the main Substance of what is generally offer'd on one side or the other; at least, they seem to me, more immediately and directly to answer all the Reasonings of our learned Enquirer about it; who, thro' all his Management of this Argument, grounds his whole Scheme upon such ancient Ecclesiastical Authorities alone; and as for Texts of holy Scripture, or any authentick Charter of Popular Election

I 3

118 *An Original Draught of*

Election contain'd in them, (at the first Divine or Apostolical Institution of it) has thought fit not to mention one; [as the *Reader may see, by consulting the References noted in the Margin here.]

To begin then with the former Part, or Member of the Distinction itself; which is this, That the holy Scriptures set forth to us a Divine Right, Authority, and Power of Ordaining Elders in the Church, completely and absolutely convey'd (from the Fountain of all Power in it) to the single Persons of the first Spiritual Rulers of it, without any previous or concurrent Election of the People in it, and farther, that the Apostles themselves, or Apostolical Men, (eminently so call'd, and adopted into the Number of them) did accordingly both execute and convey the same Ordaining Power, in the same Manner, unto others at their first planting of Christian Churches in the World. This Evidence of Fact, I shall briefly shew, the holy Scriptures do set forth to us.

And first, as to the peculiar Apostolick College itself, which we know was first consecrated and ordain'd to this holy Function, (as the Spring and Fountain from whence all the rest is undoubtedly derived) I presume it will not be disputed, but that they received a Fulness of Power for Ordinations, as well as every other Part of their Ministerial Office, from the blessed Jesus himself, (whether before or after his Resurrection) without any imaginary Appearance

* See Enq. p. 23, 24. and p. 46, to p. 49.

rance of such a Popular Choice or Approbation in the Case: And therefore I do but barely name the Thing; tho' I must make this short Remark upon it, that 'tis no inconsiderable Circumstance to the Point in hand, that the Catholick Church was thus founded upon Governors and Pastors ordain'd to rule over every Part of it, before there was any form'd Church or settled Congregation in the World to have any hand in it. This comes as near the Root (I'm sure) of all Divine Right or Power in Ordinations, as 'tis possible to do: And in what other Sense can we reasonably conceive those first Plenipotentaries of Church-Power could understand their blessed Lord's Express Commission to them, * *As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you*, than as a personal Power to ordain others in the same Manner likewise, according as the Occasion of converting all Nations, and gathering Churches in them, (where there were none before) did most naturally require.

That they did *so* understand, and execute their Commission *so* too, (if a very short Digression may be allow'd me here) that one venerable Record of Antiquity, which our Enquirer himself † singled out to prove the Contrary by, will manifestly shew; I mean S. Clement's first Epistle to the Corinthians, where the holy Father's Words are these: § *The Apostles* I 4 (says

* Joh. xx. 21.

† See Enq. p. 49.

§ Οἱ Ἀπόστολοι καθίστανον τὰς ἀρχαὶς αὐτῶν εἰς ἐπισκόπους ἢ διακόνους ἢ μὲν ἱερεῖς πιστεύειν.
Clem. ad Corinth. Ep. I. p. 54, 55.

(says he) constituted [or ordain'd] *Bishops and Deacons for such as [were not yet converted, but] should, in some time to come, be brought over to the Faith.* There needs no Comment upon this Testimony; for sure, whatever imaginary People may be suggested to have bore a Part in the Election or Ordination of such Bishops and Deacons as those, 'tis plain enough, the People they were afterwards to preside over, or minister amongst them, could have none at all; which is the only Thing contended for, and should be prov'd, in the Case before us.

But, to return to Scripture Evidence again: As the principal Apostles themselves (according to the Testimony of that truly Primitive Father indeed, for he was cotemporary with many of them) did unquestionably constitute and ordain Pastors in the Church, without any Suffrage or Election of the People in it; so the holy Scriptures affirm no less of such as were adopted into that sacred College, dignify'd with that Title by the Holy Ghost, and call'd of God himself to the holy Function, as well as the *Blessed Twelve* were; I mean *S. Paul* and *S. Barnabas*, whose Ordinations are particularly recorded for us in holy Writ itself. The Text which mentions them is obvious enough, and has seldom escaped the Observation of any who have wrote on this Argument, on one side or the other. 'Tis *Acts* xiv. 23. where, in our Translation, we read thus: || *And when they had*
ordain'd

|| *Act. xiv. 23. Καὶ χειροτονήσαντες ὃ ἀποῖς πρεσ-
βυτέρους καὶ ἐκκλησίαν, πρὸς δ' ἄνθρωποι μὲν υἱοὶ ᾧ,
παρέδεντο αὐτῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὡς ἐν πεποιθέναι.*

ordain'd them Elders in every Church, and had prayed with Fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed. I know the original Word, here used for this Apostolical Ordination, is with great Assurance insisted upon by the Advocates for Popular Election, as including in it the Votes or Suffrages of the People, because it signifies *the stretching out, or holding up, of the Hand*; which Ceremony was commonly used by the ancient *Greeks*, to express such an Action of the People in giving their Voice or Suffrage either in Courts of Judicature, or at the Choice of Magistrates amongst them. This is the main Stress of all the Glosses I meet with, to evade the clear Evidence of this Text for the Apostle's ordaining those Elders by their own free Choice and Authority alone: *The clear Evidence of the Text*, I call it; for if there be any Regular and Grammatical Construction of the holy Penmen's Words to be allow'd at all, it must necessarily be this; That the same Persons who held forth their Hands for the Act of Ordination here, did, in the Words immediately following, *commend the People, then present, to the Lord, in whom they believ'd*. The Word (*Commended*) in the latter Clause, and the Persons who ordain'd (or stretched out their Hands for Orders, if we had rather translate it so) in the former, having as direct a Reference to, and Connexion with one another, and appropriating the Action of the one to the Persons of the other, as entirely as 'tis possible for true Syntax to do in any Sentence whatsoever; and therefore, unless the People *commended themselves to the Lord*
in

in the latter Clause, they could not be included amongst the Persons that stretched out their Hands for Ordination in the former; for they that did one, as clearly as Language can make it, did the other also. Besides, tho' it might signify either, yet it must signify both here, if it imply the People's Votes, else no Imposition of Hands in this Ordination; and how absurd is that?

I might balance (at least) all the Proofs that could be given for a Popular Election necessarily imply'd in this original Word, by a Cloud of Witnesses both of *Greek* and *Jewish* Writers, (in and about the Time that the New Testament was wrote) who familiarly apply the same Word, not to the Votes or Suffrages of a Multitude only, but to the bare Authoritative Act of a single Person, (nay even of * God himself) in constituting or ordaining Officers to the respective Places or Purposes that they treated of. I might add also the venerable and receiv'd Authorities of Christian Fathers, Historians, Criticks, and Grammarians, (eminent both in ancient and modern Ages of the Church) who affirm the Word to be so taken in the *ancient Ecclesiastical* Notion of it; inso-much that the Inquisitive *Suicer*, (who was Friend enough to Popular Elections) amongst other Significations of the Word, undertakes to prove by many Testimonies and Examples, that

* So the Holy Scripture attributes it to God's Choice of Witnesses, Acts x. 41.

*that the *Stretching out of the Hand* included in it, imports no more than barely *creating, constituting, and designing* Persons to the Place or Office intended for them, as distinct from Suffrage and Election; and (which is not a little to the Purpose) produces this very Text, at the Head of many other Authorities, for a clear Testimony and Example of it. [But they who would see a plain and compendious Account of the Authorities I here appeal to, need only read the excellent Doctor *Hammond's* Annotations on this single Text, and those of the late Bishop *Beveridge* on the first *Apost. Can.*] But,

I have chosen rather to leave the sacred Text to its own naked Evidence, than amuse the Reader with numerous Quotations of that Kind, which are so readily to be found elsewhere; especially, since Authorities of that nature, tho' justly thought to have a considerable Weight in them by unprejudic'd Men, yet (I know not for what Reasons) are very often slightly pass'd over by some of the greatest Patrons of Popular Election and the Congregational Cause. Witness that remarkable Passage in the celebrated *J. Owen's Plea for Scripture Ordination*; who, speaking of valid Ordinations, thus explains himself: By *Valid* (says he) *I mean, not what old Canons make so, (and yet 'tis remarkable by the by that*
our

* Exemplis & testimoniis præbemus *χειροτονεῖν* nihil aliud declarare quam *constituere, creare, designare*: patet hoc ex Act. xiv. 23. ubi de Paulo & Barnaba, *χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἐκκλησίαν*. Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. in verbo *χειροτονέω*, & in voce *χειροτονία*. Num. 2.

our learned Enquirer urges such Authorities in the Case) but what the Scriptures determine to be so: Those sacred Oracles, which are of Divine Inspiration, and not arbitrary Canons which are of weak Mens devising, are the Foundation of our Faith, and the infallible Standard, by which Truth and Error must be try'd; which tho' it be an unaccountable Contempt of those venerable Records of the Church, and of all other humane Authority besides; yet so far as any original Right or Power in that solemn Act of Ordination can be claim'd (as Divine) he may be own'd to speak a very important Truth in it; for after that sacred Code was once complete and seal'd, I know of no such authentick Power as that granted to any, either in Part, or in Whole.

I shall therefore pursue the Evidence of those holy Oracles a little farther still, and prove from thence, that as the Apostles receiv'd and exercis'd such an Ordaining Power, independent of any Popular Election in it; so they convey'd the same, without any such Condition annex'd to it, to the individual Persons of some of the chief Pastors of the Churches which were planted by them. The two noted Instances of this Kind, within the sacred Canon itself, are *Timothy* and *Titus*; in whose Commission and Instructions together, (which are very particular, we know, in the Point of Ordinations above all Things) we might reasonably expect to hear of this material Right and Privilege of the People, (if such a Right there was) and not without some solemn Directions, one would think, for a due Regard to it, lest their Ordinations shou'd prove defective and *invalid* (after all the Authority

rity the Apostle had given them) for Want of this Popular Election in them. But that neither their Commissions or Instructions for ordaining Bishops and Deacons in the Church, do either require, or imply any such Elections in them, will appear evident (I think) from a very few Texts, which immediately relate to them.

The Commission to *Timothy* is directly refer'd to in 2 *Tim.* ii. 2. *The things that thou hast heard of me among many Witnesses,* (says the great Apostle) *the same commit thou to faithful Men, who shall be able to teach others also.*

The Substance of *Titus's* Commission is, at *Titus* i. 5. *For this Cause left I thee in Crete,* (says the same Apostle) *that thou shouldst set in Order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I had appointed thee.*

Nothing can be plainer (I think) than these three Things are here: *First*, That there was a full Right and Power of ordaining Elders in the Church unquestionably invested in these Primitive Pastors of the Apostolical Churches. *Secondly*, That each of them in their single Persons are expressly specify'd, address'd, and pointed to, for the Discharge and Execution of it, [*Commit thou to faithful Men, &c. and that thou shouldst ordain Elders, &c. as I had appointed thee.*]

And, *Thirdly*, That there is not the least Direction, or so much as Hint, or Intimation, given to either of them to call in the Assistance, or wait the Approbation of the *People* in the Case; neither Texts, nor Contexts, if we please to look into them, will suggest the least Imagination of any such Thing: And therefore, without farther Remark upon them,

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I proceed, in the next place, to consider the larger Instructions given to them by the great Apostle, for the due Execution of their important Charge. These lie dispersed in the several Epistles directed to them: And here, if any where, we might hope to find the *Secret* of a *Popular Election* enjoin'd in all their Ordinations: But, on the contrary, instead of clear Instructions for it, we find they had the strongest Cautions given them *against it*, that a holy Prophet and Apostle together (whose Commission alone they acted by) could well have left with them. For *S. Paul*, instructing *Timothy* in the Genius of the People of the Province he had placed him in, in plain Terms foretells him what they would one Day do, if they were left to their own Elections, and might choose Pastors for themselves. *The Time will come* (says he) *when they will not endure sound Doctrine, but after their own Lusts shall they heap to themselves Teachers, having itching Ears,* [2 Tim. iv. 3.] This was a pretty fair Warning, one would think, both to *Timothy* himself, and to his Successors too, (for it was an indefinite Prophecy, in Point of Time, to them all) that they should beware of trusting too much to the Votes and Suffrages of the People, in that particular Affair especially of providing Pastors for themselves: And that *Titus* had a Caution to this Purpose much of the same Kind with this, is visible enough in *S. Paul's* confirming the *Cretian Poet's* hard Testimony of his own Countrymen, that *they were always Lyars, evil Beasts, and slow Bellies.* [Tit. i. 12.] For that the Apostle meant it not of such as were unconverted only, but chiefly of such as

were

were then become Members of the Church, and indeed of them alone, in respect of the Use he made of it) is manifest from the Words immediately following, wherein he enjoins *Titus* to rebuke them sharply, that they might be sound in the Faith; which, surely, was to judge and censure them for it; and that had been contrary to his own Doctrine in another Place, if they were not Members of the Church: For (1 Cor. v. 12.) he disowns his Right of judging them that are without; *What have I to do* (says he) *to judge them that are without?* If the Lay-Members of the *Cretian* Church therefore had such a Character as this fasten'd upon them by the very Apostle himself, (which, at least, must affect a considerable Part of them) let any Man judge what Probability there is, that *Titus* should have it given him in his Instructions to let the People choose their Pastors for themselves, or that he should take up that Method himself in conferring Holy Orders on any in that Island.

'Tis true, indeed, they have this excellent Instruction amongst the rest, that *Bishops* and *Deacons* must be proved first, and found to be blameless; [1 Tim. iii. 2, 10. and Tit. i. 6.] which does undoubtedly suppose a careful Inquisition and wise Trial to be made of the personal Qualifications of every Candidate for holy Orders: And upon this indefinite Advice, and single Intimation, (which, when we have said the most of it that we can, leaves the whole Matter to the Discretionary Judgment of the Ordainers themselves) do many Advocates for Popular Election ground their Plea, for a necessary Appeal

peal to the Votes and Suffrages of the People in all Ordinations: Nay, our learned Enquirer himself, tho' he offer'd no Scripture Authority for it, when he was directly treating of the Point; yet when † he comes to the Method of his Consistory, in examining into the Life and Conversation of such Candidates for Holy Orders, he first tells us, *they were proposed to the People for their Testimony*, and then immediately subjoins the former of these Texts as an Apostolical Canon, to countenance, at least, if not to enjoin the Practice of it.

In answer to which, I offer these few Considerations:

First, That the holy Apostle's Meaning in it appears not to be so, by the Cautions given to *Timothy* and *Titus*, which I mention'd but now.

Secondly, That the Nature of the Thing itself, namely, the Qualifications requir'd in this Case, seem very unsuitable to such a Popular or Congregational Inquest as this. And,

Lastly, That our judicious Enquirer himself, where he most explains his Sense upon this Subject, does not a little countenance the contrary Opinion of it.

The first of these Particulars (of the Apostle's Sense of it) is clear'd already, and needs no Repetition.

The second, which is the Nature of the thing itself, or the Qualifications requir'd in the Persons to be ordain'd, (and note, Episcopal Orders in the Sense of the Enquiry are included here)

here) I shall take from the Enquirer's own Pen.
 † *The Gifts, or Qualifications, (says he) touching which a Candidate for the Ministry was examin'd, may be reduc'd to these four Heads.*

First, His Age, to prevent admitting a Novice or a Stripling, as he explains the thing.

Secondly, His Condition in the World, in respect of being free from all secular Employments, or mundane Affairs.

Thirdly, His Conversation, that he might be known to be meek and humble, and of an unspotted and exemplary Life.

Fourthly, His Understanding, that he might be of a good Capacity, and fit to teach others; under which Head, he falls in clearly with Origen and Clemens Alexandrinus, that all sorts of Humane Learning, and Logick, and Philosophy in particular, were not only useful, but necessary for a Presbyter; they were amiable, and profitable for him, as his own Words are, at Pag. 94.

The ingenious Author, who drew up these Particulars, was very sensible (I doubt not) that three in four of them needed no appealing to any Congregation of Men to be satisfy'd in them. Little need of bringing whole Multitudes to a Poll, to know what, or whereabouts, the Age of any Candidate should be; or whether involv'd in secular or worldly Affairs, or no; and more absurd still, to enquire there of his Skill or Abilities in those Depths of humane Learning, which are thought proper for him.

The only Qualification, then, which could fall under the Cognizance of such Judges as those,

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must

must be that of his Moral Vertues, or of his Life and Conversation; and why should ~~the~~ Bishops of different Provinces be call'd in to judge of that? No Man ever question'd, (I think) but that Neighbourhood or Societies, Friends or Familiars, whether Laity or Clergy, which any Man whatsoever has been more familiarly conversant with, are the properest Evidence, before all others, to give a just and satisfactory Information of this kind of Qualification. But how, and in what Manner, would a reasonable Man conceive such Information should be had? By an universal Suffrage and critical Majority of Voices, in so mix'd a Multitude? Sure, if natural Reason, and common Sense and Experience does not startle at that, yet our blessed Master would teach us to be very cautious (at least) in such hazardous Trials as these; when he plainly tells us, there will be *Tares as well as Wheat* (and 'tis well, if we must not understand it in more than Equal proportion too) in *that very Field* which is a Symbol of the Kingdom of Heaven, or of the Visible Church of God upon Earth; and to measure out one and t'other without Distinction, as this Case supposes, could have little Good come of it. *Not this Man, but Barabbas*, is a tremendous Instance of this kind, in the most eminent Congregation of the only Church of God then amongst Men: And whosoever shall seriously consider, how expressly the Spirit has foretold us, what Degeneracy of Faith, what Corruption of Manners, what perilous Times should come in the latter Days, when Men should be *false Accusers*, and *Haters of those that are good*, and the like; yet still retaining the Form

* P
hora
eneca

of Godliness, though without the Power of it; who-
soever (I say) should impartially consider this,
must be inclin'd to think, that the Wisdom of
God, who both foresaw and foretold it all,
should scarcely ever grant such an unchange-
able Charter to every individual Member of a
Church, to approve his Bishops and Pastors for
him, in all Generations to come; as we see, in-
deed, there appears no Footsteps of it in the
holy Code of his Laws, by the View we have al-
ready had of them. The wise Heathen speaks a
natural Truth, (not very foreign to this Purpose)
which I am afraid the Christians in our Age
would find hard to contradict: * *Things don't*
go so well with Mankind, (said the excellent Seneca)
that the Best please the most where Number and
Multitude is, 'tis an Argument rather of the Worst.
The Inference from all I have said here is this,
That notwithstanding the whole Corporation,
or Society, (whether Sacred or Civil) which any
Person is an immediate Member of, and the
whole Region or District he ordinary lives and
converses in, be the most suitable Places and
Persons from whence we should seek a moral
Character of him; yet a few select ones out of
all the rest, if judiciously chosen, and with an
upright Mind apply'd to, are as likely (at least)
to give a just and sober Account in the Case, as
the promiscuous Votes of the mixed Multitude
together can reasonably be thought to do: And

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* Non tam bene cum rebus humanis agitur, ut me-
jora pluribus placeant, argumentum pessimi, turba est.
Seneca de vit. Beat. c. 2.

if what I have said seem too little for it, I shall farther add, (what I learn from the judicious Enquirer himself) namely, that *Ignorance* and *Affection*, that is, Weakness in Understanding, and Biass upon the Will, are generally to be found amongst the vulgar People of any Christian Church or Congregation whatsoever.

And this will clear (I hope) the third Particular I promis'd to make out, that the Enquirer himself, where he most impartially explains his Sense upon this Subject, does not a little countenance our Opinion of it: For these are the two Qualities he || fastens upon the Common People, even of Primitive Churches and Congregations in general, [as I just mention'd once before.] They serv'd his Turn then indeed in another View of the Case: He was representing to us the Primitive Custom of Neighbouring Bishops being call'd in, as necessary to consent to the Peoples Election of a Bishop; and because it would eclipse the Popular Power, to speak out the Whole of their Business, Office, and Authority, in constituting a Bishop over them, he smooths it over with this Gloss; (and one or two more not much unlike it, which I may consider afterwards) *I suppose* (says he) *the Reason of their presenting him to those Bishops for their Consent was this, lest the People, thro' Ignorance, or Affection, should choose an unfit, or an unable Man for that Office.* What Manner of Representation this is of an Episcopal Part and Office in Primitive Ordinations, I shall not stay

to

to observe now; I only make good the Observation I rais'd from it to the present Purpose, viz. That he charges the Congregation with Suspicion of such *Ignorance* and *Affection* in the Choice of their Bishop, that they needed better Judges to be call'd in, as in another Place he makes them subject to *Giddiness*, *Envy*, or *Pride*, Pag. 105. He may apply, 'tis likely, the *Weakness* of their *Understanding* to the Point of judging of the Candidates *Humane Learning* only; but the Byass of their *Affection* (which with equal Justice perhaps he supposes to be in them) together with the other Qualities of *Giddiness*, *Envy*, or *Pride*, can never pass for a tolerable Disposition in them, to give their Suffrage in any other Qualification whatsoever: And therefore I think it can be no Injury to say, that where his Sense is most impartially explain'd, he countenances, at least, our present Opinion in the Case.

Now, to sum up all that has been offer'd from Scripture Evidence relating to the Argument before us, the Particulars are briefly these.

First, That the principal Apostles themselves were unquestionably chosen and ordain'd Supreme Governors and Pastors of all that did, or should believe in their Time, without the Concurrence or Consent of any: And this was the Root and Fountain of all Church Power granted from above.

Secondly, That the same Apostles must have had the like Ordaining Power personally and entirely invested in themselves alone, upon these two Accounts; 1st, Because their Com-

mission (in this respect) was, in express Words, the very Transcript of the *Fathers* to their Lord and Master, who sent them, [*as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you, Joh. xx. 21.*] And, 2dly, Because their Pastoral Work in converting unconverted Nations, and constituting or ordaining Spiritual Governors for them, being, in that respect, the same also, did naturally require the same Authority and Power for it. [And that those holy Apostles did actually exercise such a Power, I prov'd by the collateral Authority of *Clem. Romanus*, who, in so many Words, assures us, that they ordain'd both Bishops and Deacons so.]

Thirdly, I shew'd, from the Evidence of the Sacred Text itself, that those adopted Apostles, *S. Paul* and *S. Barnabas*, did ordain Elders for the Churches, in the same Manner, as to their sole and personal Act in it; referring the Reader to many unexceptionable Authorities, for that Exposition of the holy Penmens Words.

Fourthly, That the same *S. Paul* convey'd the like Power to *Timothy* and *Titus*, requiring no Concurrence of a Popular Election with them, either in his Commission or Instructions given to them; but, on the contrary, left Cautions with them to beware of trusting too much to any such Elections.

And, Lastly, I consider'd at large that single Instruction so often strain'd to prove a Popular Election by, viz. *That Bishops or Deacons must be first prov'd, and found to be blameless*; and shew'd, that neither in the Sense of the Apostle himself, nor from the Nature of the Thing, or in the more impartial Sense and Judgment of the learned

learned Enquirer himself, any such Popular Claim or Title could be imply'd in it.

From these Particulars, I conceive the first Part, or Member, of the general Distinction I propos'd, to be made good, *viz.* that the Holy Scriptures set forth to us a Divine Right, Authority, and Power, of ordaining Elders in the Church, absolutely and entirely convey'd (from the Fountain of all Power in it) to the single Persons of the first Spiritual Rulers of it, without any previous or concurrent Election of the People in the Case; and that it was so executed and convey'd down to others also.

To proceed to the other Part of that Distinction then: What Account do we find of this Matter in the Records of Primitive Antiquity nearest approaching to the first Age of the Church? And here I might produce Variety of Instances, wherein neither Election, nor so much as a Convention of the People, was to be found, or heard of, at the Consecration of many of those Primitive Bishops within that Period of Time. *Clemens Romanus* constitutes *Evaristus* his Successor by his own Assignment, and a kind of Surrender (as it were) before his Death; for so * *Eusebius's* Words (here noted in the Margin) do plainly imply: *Phadimus*, Bishop of *Amasea*, had no other Hand but that of Heaven and his own, in making the renown'd *Gregory* Bishop of *Neocæsarea*, as the whole Circumstances of that Affair (related by the

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learned

* Κλήμης Ἐυαεῖς αὐτῷ ἀποδίδει τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀναλύει βίον. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. 34.

learned † Dr. Cave) from *Greg. Nyssen*, do sufficiently shew. But, not to amuse ourselves with enquiring after particular Cases, what Sense can we make of that very Primitive Canon of the Church, *which taxes the People of a Diocese with great Iniquity, who would not receive a Bishop ordain'd for them, and sent to preside over them? Nay, suspended the Clergy of that City, for not instructing such an insolent People any better; which are the expresse Words of the 36th Apostolical* || Canon? What Sense, I say, can we make of so ancient a Canon as this, if it were not familiarly in Use in those Primitive Times, to ordain a Bishop for a vacant See without the People having any Concern in it? And they who can believe that Canon to be of later Date than the Third Century, (at the most) after all the Evidence which learned Antiquaries have given to the contrary, will hardly be brought to Reason I'm afraid. And yet we need not insist on this neither; for the constant and settled Custom of the Church of *Alexandria* is so pregnant an Instance in this Case, as supercedes all farther Enquiry in the Matter.

That the twelve Presbyters alone chose their Bishop there to the middle of the Third Century, (at least) is evident enough from *S. Jerome's* Account of it, (tho', in other respects, the same Passage

† See Dr. Cave's *Life of Greg. Thaum.* § 6. p. 271.

|| Εἰ χειροτονθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος — μὴ δεχθῇ, ἢ ὡς
 † αὐτὸς γινώσκω, ἀλλὰ ὡς τινὲς τοῦ λαοῦ μοχθηρίαν,
 αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπίσκοπος, ὁ δὲ κληρὸς τῆ πόλεως ἀπο-
 εἰρέσθω ὅτι τοιῶτε λαὸς ἀνυποτάκτους παῖδας ἐκ ἐχθράτης.
 Can. Apostol. 36.

Passage is too often misapply'd.) But his Account is this: * *At Alexandria, (says he) from Mark the Evangelist to Heraclas and Dionysius's Time, (who were the 13th and 14th Bishops in Succession there) the Presbyters always nominated one their Bishop, chosen from among themselves, and placed in a higher Station.* Add to this Evidence the same Account given us (only more fully and particularly still) by *Severus*, who wrote the *Lives of the Alexandrian Patriarchs*, and by the *Arabian and Egyptian Annalists* of that Church, as † *Abraham Ecchellensis* has recorded them for us; and we shall find it was not only a stated Custom in that Primitive Church for the Presbyters alone thus to choose their Bishop, but that it was a Fundamental Constitution there, and of *S. Mark's own Appointment*. What must we think then? Could the People have a general Right, or Charter of Election granted them, either from Christ or his Apostles, and this Holy Evangelist know nothing of it? Or, if he had known it, would he have establish'd a standing Rule, in that eminent Church of his own Founding, so directly contrary to it?

But, not to insist on these approv'd Records of the Church neither, (tho' the Testimony they bear

* Nam & Alexandria à Marco Evangelistà usq; ad Heraclam & Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant. *Hieron. Ep. ad Euagr. Edit. Erasmi. Basil. 1516. Tom. 3. Fol. 150.*

† See *Abrah. Ecchellens. de Eccl. Alex. originib. Romæ, 1661. (4to.) cap. 6. p. 82, 83, 84. & p. 103 to 107.*

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bear is strong and plain enough) I shall willingly go along with the *Enquiry* before me, as far as Fact and Truth will give me Leave.

I dispute not, therefore, that very early Custom of Provincial Bishops repairing to a vacant See, and in the *Presence of the People* settling the Election of the intended Bishop, and ordaining him there, in most Provinces I mean, tho' not in all; which is as far as his * *Quotations* require.

But, to bring the Question to a short Issue, What was the Part or Office of the People in those publick Ordinations? The Enquiry, treating of the Presbyter's Examination for his holy Orders, (which, in his Sense, is the making of him Bishop too, as to the Orders that he takes) allows of † *Testimony and Attestation* only of the People in the Case; but when he comes to be made a *Bishop indeed*, in the true and universal Sense of the Catholick Church, then the Peoples Testimony improves itself into a *Claim of Power* sufficient to *elect him Bishop*, if they please, or to *depose him afterwards*, if they think he proves unfit for it.

Now, there are two short Questions to be observ'd in this Case.

First, Whether the Primitive Church itself, who so commonly ordain'd in the *Presence of the People*, acknowledg'd any such Power in them, or no?

Secondly, From whence was this Power given, (if such an one there was) and by what Authority was it claim'd?

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* Fere provincias universas. *Eng.* p. 48.

† See *Enq.* p. 88.

To prove that the Primitive Church did acknowledge such a Power, the Enquiry produces two Articles. 1st, That of an * *African Synod*, related by S. Cyprian, [Ep. 68. § 6. or in the *Oxon Edit.* Ep. 67.] and translates it thus: *The Neighbouring Bishops of the Province* (says he) *met together at the Church of a vacant See, and chose a Bishop in the Presence of the People, who knew his Life and Conversation before; which Custom was observ'd in the Election of Sabinus, Bishop of Emerita in Spain, who was ordain'd to that Dignity by the Suffrage of all the Brethren, and of all the Bishops there present.* [See Enquiry Pag. 48.]

In this Account of the Case, here are two Parts; 1st, What the general Custom was; and 2^{dly}, That the particular Ordination of *Sabinus* was in all Points conformable to it. Of the general Custom, 'tis affirm'd, (in our Author's own Translation) that the Neighbouring Bishops met together at the Church of a vacant See, and chose a Bishop. Here is as plain a Proof (I think) of the Neighbouring Bishops choosing the Person, as Words can make it: What then is said of the People? Only this, *That 'twas in their Presence, who knew his Life and*
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* Apud nos & fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quiq; convenient, & episcopus deligatur, plebe præsentē, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, & uniuscujusq; actum de ejus conversatione perspexit: Quod factum videmus in Sabini ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio, & de episcoporum judicio episcopatus ei deferretur, *Cypr. Ep. 68. aut Edit. Oxon. 67.*

Conversation before : If any Man can see a Popular Election here, he must be quicker sighted than I can ever hope to be. That their Knowledge of his Life and Conversation before, should qualify them *to give Testimony* of his Moral Conduct and Behaviour amongst them, and so encourage or discourage the Bishops in making or confirming their Elections, is a natural and genuine Inference from that Expression ; and if we will allow *S. Cyprian* to make his References and Similitudes apposite and agreeable to the Subject he applies them to, we must conclude it was his own Meaning too : For upon this very Argument, and in the same Page, he refers to God's Instructions to *Moses*, to bring forth *Aaron*, with *Eleazar* his Son, and place them before his Congregation, in order to consecrate the Son his Father's Successor ; and I presume, no Man infers from hence, that the Congregation of *Israel* chose or voted *Eleazar* to the High-Priesthood, because it was appointed to be done in their Presence ; and why this Reference, then, to illustrate Christian Ordinations by, if they were so very different in that particular Circumstance for which alone they were produc'd ? which was, to shew that the Judgment and Testimony about them both, should be as Publick as it well could be ; for that is the very Reason || given by *S. Cyprian*, for quoting the sacred Text, and applying it to the Argument he had in Hand.

For

|| Ut sacerdos, plebe præsente, sub omnium oculis deligatur, & dignus atq; idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur, sicut in Numeris Dominus Moyssi præcepit. *Cypr. Ep. 68. aut Edit. Oxon. Ep. 67.*

For any thing that appears in this Quotation, the general Custom of the Church made the Election of the Person to be the Bishop's Part, and left the *Presence* and *Testimony* of the People only to be theirs ; and doubtless in *Sabinus's* Case it could be no otherwise, for 'tis introduc'd here with this Attestation to it, *That this Custom of the Church was accordingly observ'd in the Ordination of Sabinus.* Where lies the Evidence then, that the People chose there, tho' the general Custom is declar'd in this Quotation, not to be so ? Not in *S. Cyprian's* affirming it (I'm sure) in such plain Terms, as he affirm'd before that the Provincial Bishops met and *chose* too ; but it wholly lies in a *positive* Construction of a dubious and mistaken Word in this Quotation, and the Enquirer's Ingenuity in joining two different Terms, in one and the same Sense, in his Translation, which the accurate *S. Cyprian* had carefully distinguish'd himself. For the Holy Father's Words (to translate them right) are these ; *That the Bishoprick was conferr'd upon Sabinus, by the Suffrage of all the Brethren, and by the Judgment of the Bishops there :* So that *Judgment* and *Suffrage* are plainly distinguish'd (we see) by *S. Cyprian* ; the former attributed to the Bishops alone, and the latter to all the Brethren ; whereas the Enquirer was pleas'd to unite them in his Translation, and says *that Sabinus was advanc'd to that Dignity by the Suffrage of all the Brethren, and of all the Bishops there present.* So that *Suffrage* being made the same with a *judicial Act*, by this ingenious Union of them, insensibly convey'd an equal Share at least, of Right and Power to the People in this Election, with

with that of the Bishops themselves; and that purely, (so far as any Man can see) because the Word *Suffrage* was taken of Course to signify no less; which I desire the Reader more particularly to take Notice of, because a very great Stress of this ingenious Author's Arguments for Popular Election, and that which innocently influenc'd ('tis possible) his own Judgment in it too, seems to lie in a mistaken Construction of this single Word, in the Writings of *S. Cyprian*.

I must be forc'd, upon this Occasion, therefore, to spend a little Time in clearing up the holy Martyr's Notion of it, which I shall do as briefly as I can.

And were there no other Instance in all the venerable Monuments we have of his excellent Works, to prove that *Suffrage* (in his ordinary Use of the Word) imply'd no Right or Power at all, in them that gave it; or convey'd any Title, or Part of Title, to the Person they gave their Suffrages for: This single Passage before us would go a great way to persuade an unprejudic'd Man that it was so. For to find it distinguish'd (as it is here) from the *judicial Part* of the whole Proceedings, and the decisive Act (which Judgment expressly is) attributed afterwards unto others, who were fewer in Number too, does naturally enough imply, that there was no actual Power, but purely either precedent Testimony or a subsequent Approbation in the Suffrages of the People; else their very Number would have made them Judges, rather than the Bishops themselves; and it makes not a little to the same Purpose, that those very Words were carefully distinguish'd also, in the Account of *Eleazar's* publick

publick Consecration, (just before) where we are sure they must be taken so.

But to shew how familiar this Notion of the Word is, in the Writings of that Primitive Father; let these farther Instances (out of many more, which might be produc'd) be added to the former. In his Tract (*De Zelo & Livore*) * speaking of the People's Transport of Joy and Satisfaction at *David's* slaying of *Goliath*; he expresses it thus, *They brake forth (says he) into Commendations of David, with Suffrage of Applause.* What can this *Suffrage of Applause* signifie, but plainly a Testimony of the Peoples highest Approbation of the thing done; not express'd by way of Votes, to be sure, ('twould be absurd enough to imagine that) but by publick Acclamations of them all, as infinitely pleas'd with what the holy Champion had done; and this *S. Cyprian* thought properly express'd, by calling it, the *Suffrage of the People.*

Again, in his Treatise [*De Vanitate Idolorum*] speaking of the *Jews* earnestly urging *Pilate* to crucify our blessed Lord, || *they deliver'd him up (says he) to Pontius Pilate, requesting of him by Force, and importunate Suffrages, that he should be crucify'd*; and what meant these importunate Suffrages more, than to shew their wicked Inclination, Desire, and highest Approbation of the

* *Populus admirans in laudes David prædicationis suffragio profiliit. Cypr. de Zelo & Liv. p. 223. Oxon. Edit.*

|| *Magistri eorum Pontio Pilato tradiderunt crucem ejus, & mortem suffragiis violentis & pertinacibus flagitantes. Cypr. de Vanit. Idol. p. 16. Edit. Oxon.*

the thing, if *Pilate* should pass such a bloody Sentence upon him? for they declar'd themselves, they had no Power, in the Act of putting any Man to Death, [*Jo. xviii. 31.*] Yet this the accurate holy Father again, in his Language, calls the *Suffrage of the Jews*.

One Instance more I shall name, because it contains in it *his own* Explication of the Word, and plainly shews, that, by *Suffrage*, he meant the same thing as he did by *publick Testimony*, and nothing more. In his 68th Epistle, he says of *Cornelius's* Ordination, || that it was by the *Suffrage of the Clergy and the People*; and of the same Ordination, in another Place, he says, * 'twas by the *Testimony of almost all the Clergy, and by the Suffrage of the People that were there*. Now if the *Testimony* of the Clergy in the latter Clause be not the same with their *Suffrage* in the former, then 'twas something less than so; and consequently the Clergys Personal Part and Interest in Elections falls short of the common Peoples, to whom a Suffrage is imputed in the same Clause; (which, I presume, is not intended neither.) But if the Terms be allow'd to be equivalent, the Case is plain, the holy Father appears consistent with himself; and in no other Sense, I apprehend, it can be so.

These few Instances, I think, may shew, that to take the Word *Suffrage* in the Sense of solemn Testimony, Good-liking, Approbation, or the like,

|| De cleri & plebis suffragio. *Cypr. Ep. 68.*

* De clericorum pœne omnium testimonio, & de plebis, quæ tunc affuit, suffragio. *Ep. 55. p. 104. Edit. Oxon.*

like, in the Works of S. Cyprian, is an authentic and warrantable Interpretation of it, as being directly suitable to his own manifest and familiar Notion of the Word; and therefore I leave the Reader to judge, whether the Enquirer's promiscuous Joining of it with the Word [Judgment] in the Quotation now before us, (as if they were Synonymous Terms) and Laying the whole Stress of the Quotation upon it, when the holy Father himself had cautiously distinguished them in both Places, where Occasion was offer'd him to do so, does not seem (at least) a mistaken Apprehension of that great Author's Sense; and by that Means strains the whole Quotation, to prove a *Popular Election*, when, by what has been offer'd, we may clearly see, there is no such Evidence to be found in either Part of it.

* The other Authority brought to prove the same Thing, is a Passage in S. Clement's first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, where our learned Author observes; † *That Apostles and Apostolick Preachers ordain'd Bishops and Deacons with the Consent of the whole Church*; that is, by their Votes given for the Candidate to be ordain'd in the Manner of a regular Election; for so the Subject he applies it to, obliges us to understand it. Now this Evidence so far agrees with the former, that the whole Force of it lies in the Signification of a single Word again, and won't want many (I hope) to shew the Invalidity of it. S. Clement's Word for *consenting* here, is

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* See Enq. p. 49.

† Κατασθέντας ὑπὸ κλήρων καὶ μελαζὺ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνδδοκησάσης τῆ ἐκκλησίας πάσης. Clem. Rom. Ep. 1. ad Corinth. p. 57.

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[συνδδοκῶν] and if any Word in the Greek Tongue could aptly render S. Cyprian's Sense of *Suffrages* in the Notion I have just now given of it, I should think it might be this. But let the Language of the inspir'd Penmen determine it for us. *Εὐδοκῶ* is of near Affinity to it; (to be sure) and this we often meet with in Holy Writ. God's *Complacency* in his own Son is express'd by that Word in three of the Evangelists; * *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* || S. Paul uses it for *taking Pleasure in Infirmities, in Reproaches, in Necessities*; and for the *Wicked's being pleas'd in Unrighteousness*; [2 Thes. ii. 12.] And other Places in Holy Writ might be produc'd to the same Purpose, which the learned † Commentators expound by *rejoycing, resting highly satisfy'd, and acquiescing in them.* And how can the Right of Election be grounded on such a Term as this? § S. Luke expresses *Saul's Consent* to the Death of S. Stephen, indeed, by the very same Word which S. Clement used here: But if that tragical Act was all over Rage, and Riot, and lawless Violence of a barbarous and incens'd Multitude, (as the Holy Penman's Relation of it does sufficiently shew) then *Saul's Consenting* to such an Act as that, can have no other Sense (I think) so fairly put upon it, as that

* Ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα. Matt. iii. 17. Mark i. 2. Luc. iii. 22.

|| Εὐδοκῶ ἐν ἀδενείαις, &c. 2 Cor. xii. 10.

† Εὐδοκήσαντες ἐν ἀδικίᾳ τῶν ὅτι χαίρω, εὐφραίνομαι, μετ' ἀδυμίας δέχομαι. Theodor. in loc. Πεσοῖσθαι ἀσυνῶς τῇ ἀδικίᾳ. Theophyl. in loc.

§ Σαυλ ὃ ἦν συνδδοκῶν τῇ ἀναρέσει αὐτοῦ. Act. viii. 1,

that which we have found to be in all the foregoing Particulars upon this Head; that is, he highly approv'd the Thing, had a thorough Satisfaction in it, and his Heart went along with theirs, who were principal Actors in it: So that the Sense of *S. Clement's* Word, even in the Language of Holy Scripture itself, does in no-wise warrant such an Inference from it as can establish a Popular Election in the least.

To strengthen these two Authorities, the Enquiry offers three or four Examples of Matter of Fact, where Bishops were actually chosen by the People; and therefore the Primitive Church did own such a Power in them. I'll propose them fairly as they are, and consider them as briefly as I can.

His first Example is that of *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, * chosen there (says he) by the Compulsion or Choice of the Members of that Church. So he translates the Quotation for us; which (in plain English) is thus: † *That the Brethren would not suffer Alexander to return home.* The Matter of Fact was this; *Alexander* was a Bishop in *Cappadocia* long before that Time, but came to *Jerusalem* out of Devotion to pray there, and visit the Country. Here, by one Divine Vision to himself, and another to the People of *Jerusalem*, God was pleas'd to signify, that he should stay amongst them, and be an Assistant Bishop to the superannuated *Narcissus*, who was now 116 Years old; upon which

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* See Enquiry, p. 46.

† Ἀδελφοὶ ἐκέτ' οἰκάδε αὐτῷ παλινσεῖν ἐπιτρέψαι. Euseb. l. 6. c. 11.

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which Visions, with an audible Voice from Heaven to confirm them, *the People would not suffer him to return home again.* This is the first Example of the People's choosing a Bishop for themselves. I shall join the second to it, because of the Resemblance they have to one another: 'Tis that of || *Fabianus's* Promotion to the Bishoprick of *Rome*. This looks a little fairer to the Purpose indeed; for the People were met in Consultation about nominating a Person whom they liked: And whilst they were thus together, a Dove miraculously lights upon *Fabianus's* Head, in the same Manner as the Holy Ghost formerly descended on our blessed Saviour; at which Divine Vision, in so miraculous a Manner, the People (*as it were by Inspiration*, for so the Historian's express Words are *) cry out with one Heart and one Mind, that *Fabianus* was worthy of the Bishoprick; and straitway they hastily set him on the Throne.

These are the two leading Instances or Examples of a Popular Election in the Primitive Church; and to speak my Thoughts freely of them, they incline me much more to admire, than to reply: To admire (I say) that so important a Right and Privilege of all Christian Congregations in the World, (as that of electing their own Bishops surely would be) should be supported in the very Foundation of it, by two such singular Examples as these.

Yet,

|| See Euseb. l. 6. c. 29. Hist. Eccl.

* "ὡς περ ὑπ' ἐνὸς πνεύματος θεὸς κινηθέντες ὁμόθυροι.
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Yet, because *S. Cyprian* furnishes me with a short Answer to all extraordinary Occasions of this Nature, I shall leave it with the Reader, and hope it may excuse a farther Reply. * *We must not wait for the Testimony of Men*, (says that excellent Father) *where the Testimony of God is given in before*. By this Maxim, that holy Martyr himself practis'd, when he ordain'd the eminent Confessor *Aurelius*, a Deacon of his Church, without the People's *Character* or *Testimony* of him; which, I freely own, he ordinarily us'd to inform himself by. And if the Constancy of *Aurelius*, under his several Trials and Persecutions, deserv'd the Name of God's Testimony for him; (for that was all in the Case) surely the heavenly Voice and Visions, in each of the foregoing Instances, (both of *Alexander* and *Fabianus* too) may well be taken for no less; and consequently the humane Suffrages (whether of Laity or Clergy) in those Elections, were but very indifferent Precedents to shew how far they might go.

There are two Examples more propos'd to us; 1st, That of *Cornelius*, the Successor of *Fabianus* at *Rome*; and lastly, that of *S. Cyprian* himself at *Carthage*. But forasmuch as all the Force of both of them || lies in that Construction of the Word [*Suffrage*] again, and in the Language of that Holy Father too, which we have seen already, can warrant no Consequence from it, I conceive the Answer to them both to be given there. 'Tis true indeed, *Pontius* the Deacon

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calls

* Non expectanda sunt testimonia humana, cum præcedunt divina *suffragia*. Cypr. Ep. 38. Edit. Oxon.

|| See Enquiry, p. 47.

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calls it, || *the Favour of the People*, in S. Cyprian's Case; (if that would mend the Matter) and our Enquirer has not fail'd to quote it here. But let *Pontius* be his own Commentator, who in the same Page calls the Peoples Part in it, † *their earnest spiritual Desire* to have him for their Bishop; which shews, their Favour had Inclination strong enough in it, but little of Authority in the Case.

Having consider'd, then, both Authorities and Examples, here offer'd us, to clear the first Question by, *viz.* Whether the Primitive Church, which so commonly ordain'd in the *Presence* of the People, acknowledg'd any such *electing Power* in them, or no? I determine nothing for others, any farther than the Evidence of Fact and Reason, I have laid before them, shall incline them to; tho' I confess, I think it clear, beyond all Dispute, that the first and nearest Ages to that of the Apostles own'd no such Right or Power to belong to them, whatever the Encroachments of the People, (upon Account of their Testimonies so prudently ask'd in the Case) or the Condescension of some Provincial Synods, might bring it to at last.

Yet, to go as far with this Hypothesis, as I can; I proceed to the second Question, which was this: From whence was this Power given, (supposing such a Power there was) and by what Authority was it claim'd?

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|| Pont. in Vit. Cypr. p. 3. Edit. Oxon.

† Plebs spirituali desiderio concupiscens — Episcopum, &c.

The foregoing Particulars will make the Answer short : We have found it neither practis'd by our blessed Lord himself, nor given in Commission to his principal Apostles : We have found those principal Apostles manifestly ordain'd both Bishops and Deacons, in such a Manner, as was inconsistent with it : We have seen, that the Apostles next in Order to them, and adopted into their College, ordain'd Elders for the Churches, by their own Personal Authority and Choice alone ; and farther, that *S. Paul* himself, being one of them, convey'd the like Ordaining Power to other supreme Pastors placed by himself over the respective Churches he committed to their Care, neither in Commission or Instructions enjoining or advising them to make use of such a Popular Election, but rather indeed cautioning them to be very wary in that Matter : And lastly, we have seen that many Ordinations in the Ages following, and particularly in the Great Church of *Alexandria*, at least for near three Hundred Years together, were perform'd without any such Election at all ; no one of which Particulars (had it been of Divine or Apostolical Institution) could tolerably be accounted for.

Whence then (to speak the most of it) could such a Right or Power arise, but from the free Consent and prudential Laws or Canons of ancient Bishops in some Provincial Synods amongst themselves ? For as for general Councils in the Three first Centuries, I am clearly of the *Enquirer's Mind, there was none such within that

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Period

* *see Enquiry*, p. 141.

Period of Time. And since we are agreed so far, that none but Provincial Synods were held within those early Ages of the Church; I hope, I may affirm with him also, § that *their Decrees were binding and obligatory to those Particular Churches only, whose Representatives they were*: And as a Consequence of that, whatever they decreed for Discipline or Order within their own Precincts or Jurisdiction, which had not the Stamp of Divine Institution or Command upon it, they had also Power to disannull or repeal; and the Power of all Provinces in this respect was the same.

From whence this plain Truth, I think, may naturally be inferr'd, That whatsoever Province in the Catholick Church had never once consented to such a Canon of Discipline amongst themselves, as this of *Popular Election* is; or had they once decreed it, yet directly or virtually had by their own Canons or Constitutions repeal'd or disannull'd it again: The Christian Laity within the District or Jurisdiction of any such Province, could have no warrantable Right or Charter whatsoever, to claim such an *Electing Power* in any of the Ordinations there. For a Claim of Power, Right, or Privilege within the Christian Church, without a warrantable Grant from that Head or Fountain of Power (whether it be originally Divine, or purely Ecclesiastical, from whence alone it can proceed) approaches near to the very Definition of Usurpation itself.

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In the mean time, I freely own, that all which the Primitive Church declares to be their Reason for ordaining Bishops in the Presence and Cognizance of the People, was not only warrantable, but wise, and worthy of the Imitation of all succeeding Ages of the Church; for their Reasons were manifestly these, || *That the Crimes of ill Men might be brought to Light, and the Merits of good Men openly proclaim'd.* And thus far, I believe, there could be little Objection made against the Constitution or Practice of almost any Christian Churches in this very Age, and particularly against the Establish'd Church of *England*, where Ordinations are enjoin'd to be celebrated in * a publick Manner, and the Congregation invited to make what Objections they can; and at every Confirmation of a Bishop Elect, † Citations are appointed to be issued out, Proclamations six times made, to summon all Opposers before the Consecration be allow'd. And in this Sense only it is, that *S. Cyprian* so solemnly declar'd the ancient Custom, then in Use

|| Ut plebe præsente, vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur. *Cypr. Ep. 67. p. 172. Edit. Oxon.*

* *In some Sunday, or Holiday, in the Face of the Church. See Rubr. before Priests Orders, and Pres. to Eng. Ordinal. § ult. The Bishop shall say unto the People, thus: Brethren, if there be any of you who knoweth any Impediment, or notable Crime, &c. let him come forth in the Name of God, and shew what it is. See the Office for ordaining Deacons and Priests, p. 1.*

† *See Godolph. Repertor. Canon. Cap. 3. p. 26, and Clark's Praxis in Cur. Eccles. Titul. 329.*

Use amongst them, § of repairing to a vacant See for ordaining a new Bishop there, to be of Divine Tradition, and Apostolical Observation; (which is so mightily insisted upon, to prove an indispensable Obligation to Popular Elections;) for that he grounded all his *Divine Tradition* upon God's Instructions to *Moses* only, for consecrating *E-leazar* before all the Congregation, is manifestly clear from the whole Context of the Place; and the Apostles themselves, observing those very *Magisteria Divina*, (as his Words are) that is, those very Directions again, given unto *Moses*, when they ordain'd afterwards; he therefore calls it also, *Apostolical Observation*. Thus the direct Connexion of those two Paragraphs in *S. Cyprian*, obliges us to understand his Words; and how little those Directions countenance a Popular Election, the Example of the Fact itself does sufficiently teach us, as we observ'd before; and indeed *S. Cyprian*, closing up all with that very Application of it to the Christian Practice of his own times, namely, || that a Bishop should be chosen in the Presence of the People, who knew their Life and Conversation, and saying no more, would convince any impartial Man, that he all along meant no more by it.

'Tis true, he instances the Cases of *S. Matthias*, and the seven Deacons; where the People were not present only, (say the common Advocates

§ Propter quod diligenter de traditione Divinâ & Apostolicâ observatione tenendum est, &c. Cypr. Ep. 67. Edit. Oxon. p. 172.

|| — Ut episcopus deligatur, plebe presente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, &c. Ep. 67.

cates for the Congregational Cause) but in all Appearance absolutely chose the Persons too.

I shall consider these two plausible Examples (so much triumph'd in by many) with all the Fairness and Brevity that I can, and hasten to dismiss the Argument.

As to that of *S. Matthias*, it seems a very unaccountable Precedent, for a standing Practice in the Church, in whatsoever Manner it was done; since, properly speaking, the Foundation of the Christian Church (as it is a *Spiritual Corporation* or *Society* of Believers) was not then laid, because the Holy Ghost was not yet given, who was to endue the very Master-builders themselves with all that Power and Wisdom from Above, by which they were to found and govern the Church of God upon Earth. The Eleven there present were *Apostles Elect*, by the infallible Nomination indeed of their Lord and Master: But their Commission was not yet seal'd, nor were they furnish'd with those Credentials and Instructions, which *the Spirit* was to give them afterwards; insomuch as they presum'd not to act in that extraordinary Ordination by their own personal Judgment, (as at other times) but referr'd the Determination to God alone, casting Lots, and appealing to God by Prayer for it.

Which makes it stranger still, (as to the Case at present before us) that the Votes and Suffrages of the People should be sought for, in a Case where the Apostles themselves dare so little interpose, and where God himself made Choice of his own Apostle.

But 'twill be said perhaps, that the Brethren then present nominated (at least) or propos'd
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the two Candidates ; if so, it must be granted still, that their humane Suffrages could have neither Authority, Direction, or any kind of Influence upon a Divine Election, which gains but little to the Purpose it is chiefly urged for. But after all, the very Nomination of the Persons in this Case of *S. Matthias*, will very hardly (if it can at all) be prov'd to have been the Brethren or Congregation's Part, by any thing we meet with in *S. Peter's* whole Discourse. There were about a hundred and twenty Persons present, ('tis sure) and what *S. Peter* spake, was in the Audience of them all ; but *to whom* he immediately address'd his Discourse, and upon *them* impos'd the Obligation of providing a Successor in the room of *Judas*, is another Question, which the Sense and Substance of the Speech itself can best resolve for us.

Now, two Expressions in it afford no small Light to this Purpose.

First, In speaking of *Judas*, who was fallen from his Apostleship, *S. Peter's* Words are these : He was number'd *with us*, and had obtain'd a Part of *this Ministry*, (that is, of the Apostolick Ministry, no doubt.) Was *Judas* thus number'd then with all the Brethren there present, as Partaker *with them* of that Apostolick Function ? or with *S. Peter* only, and the other ten Apostles, in the midst of whom he then spake ? Surely this latter Sense alone is the utmost the Words can bear, when he says, *he was number'd with us* ; and consequently they were his Apostolick Brethren only, to whom he address'd them.

Secondly,

Secondly, In the Directions he gives, from whence the Successor of *Judas* should be chosen, his Expression is this: *Wherefore, of these Men* (says he) that have accompany'd with us, &c. *Of these Men!* Why not of some amongst yourselves? or some Words equivalent to that? if the Persons to be elected were not only to be chosen from among them, but themselves to be the Electors also. That seems the direct Expression for recommending the Election to the Brethren, and enjoining them to elect one from among themselves too: Whereas the other, which *S. Peter* uses, is as plainly an Address to some other Electors there present, to choose out of those very Brethren before them, pointing at them (as it were) by that natural Expression; Out of these Persons that have accompany'd with us, &c.

We need no more, I think, (tho' more Remarks might be made) to prove, that the Apostles there present were the peculiar Persons *S. Peter* address'd his Speech to; and I presume it will not be disputed then, but that those Words, (at Ver. 23.) *And they appointed two*, did refer to them likewise, and to them only: So that the People had no Part so much as in the Nomination of the Persons to be proposed as Candidates for that Divine Election.

I am sensible, the Title of *S. Peter's* Address in these Words of our Translation [*Men and Brethren*] has not a little contributed to the contrary Exposition of the whole Discourse: But let it be consider'd, that the Particle *And* is not in the original Text, and own'd by our Translators not to be so, by the different Letter it is printed in; and therefore the Holy Penman's Language

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Language denotes no more, than if *S. Peter* had said, *My Brethren* only; and that the whole Congregation were so in a general Sense, is not to be disputed; but that the Apostles there present were in a singular and more eminent Sense *S. Peter's Brethren*, as united in the Apostolick College with him, can't be deny'd neither: And therefore, since the Subject of the Discourse appropriates the Speech peculiarly to *them*, there is greater Reason that that Evidence should explain the Meaning of an indefinite Term in the Title, than that the equivocal Sense alone, against the Tenor of the whole Discourse, should determine for us otherwise. And perhaps the *Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί*, on which the Contrary is grounded, does rather add an Emphasis in the Title, to denote the Sense we take it in; for I should think it no exceptionable Translation of it, were it render'd thus: *Ye Men that are peculiarly my Brethren*; which shews a kind of Emphatical Distinction of some there present from all the rest. Upon the whole Matter, I think we might very well subscribe to the learned *Grotius's* Conclusion in this Case: * 'Tis a Wonder to me (says he) how some Men have persuaded themselves, that *Matthias* was chosen by the People to his Apostolick Charge; for in *S. Luke* I find no Footstep of it.

As to the Case of the seven Deacons, they were left to the Enquiry, Choice, and Nomination of the Brethren, there is no doubt of it; but

* *Matthiam à populo ad Apostoli munus electum, miror quo argumento sibi quidam persuaserint, nam in Lucà nullum ejus rei invenio vestigium. Grot. de Imp. Sum. potest. circa sacra. Cap. X. § 5.*

but in what particular Respect, with what special Limitations, and how far it may be made a Precedent for the People's choosing their own Bishops and Pastors in the Church, a very short View of the Matter of *Fact* may inform us. For,

First, Whatever Offices in the Church the Apostles Imposition of Hands might entitle those Deacons to, 'tis plain, their Referring the Nomination of them to the Brethren was upon that single Score of finding out Persons they could entrust with the Contributions of the Church, for the daily Ministrations, and for the serving of Tables; for that was the only thing in open Agitation, and the holy Apostles assign'd that special Part to them; *Look you out Men, &c.* whom we may appoint over *this Business*.

Secondly, The Apostles leave not the whole Matter to their arbitrary and unlimited Inclinations neither; but, amongst other Qualifications, enjoin them to choose out Persons *full of Faith and of the Holy Ghost*, not of Faith (surely) with the ordinary, inward, and sanctifying Graces of the Holy Ghost only, for those were scarce discernible (with any Certainty at least) by Men; but they were to choose Believers (as the Event also shew'd in the Persons of *S. Stephen* and *S. Philip*, to be sure) who were endued with those miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost, which our blessed Saviour † promis'd should follow some that believed, able to cast out Devils, speak with new Tongues, heal the Sick, and the like; after the Manner that * *Cornelius's Family* and

† Mark xvi. 17, 18.

* Act. x. 44, 46, and Act. xix. 5, 6.

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and the Disciples at *Ephesus* were filled with the Holy Ghost, as soon as they believ'd, or were baptiz'd and confirm'd upon it: And by this Limitation the holy Apostles both secured their Choice to be of God's Approbation, by the Power he endued them withall, and also provided Persons fit for the greater Offices in the Church, which by their holy Orders they design'd them for.

So that these Deacons, so far as it was needful they should be faithful and trusty Stewards of the Contributions and Treasure of the Church, were order'd to be chosen and recommended by the Members of it, whose Stock and Treasure they were to be entrusted withall; and for the like Reason (no doubt of it) that another Apostle gives us on the like Occasion; namely, * *to avoid this, that no Man should blame us* (says S. Paul) *in the Abundance which is administered by us*: For such Sort of Censures might the Apostles have been liable to, had they assum'd the Nomination of the Persons to themselves; but by the Course they took, they provided for honest Things, not only in the Sight of the Lord, but in the Sight of Men. And in the mean time, as to the Qualifications requir'd for those higher Offices of *Evangelists*, or *Preachers of the Gospel*, to which the holy Apostles ordain'd those Deacons also, they had the *Divine Testimony* (as I observ'd but now) by the miraculous Gifts bestowed upon them; and where that Testimony was, S. Cyprian has taught us before, there

* 2 Cor. viii. 20, 21.

there needed not the Testimony of Men; and accordingly we find them not so much as proposed to the People under that Capacity, when it was referred to the Brethren to make Choice of them.

After these few Observations upon the Case, I leave it to the Reader to determine, how far this singular and extraordinary Precedent can go towards establishing a standing Right and Authority in all Christian Congregations, to choose their own *Bishops* and *Pastors* for themselves: Leaving only the learned *Beza's* Judgment with him too, who naming these two Instances of || *S. Matthias* and the Deacons, (when he was treating of the People's Right of Suffrages in Ecclesiastical Affairs) pronounces of them, *That they are nothing to the Purpose; and that the French Churches had sufficiently prov'd that against Morell, and his Party, in their publick Synods.*

I have been long upon this Argument; but 'twas chiefly, I may say, at the ingenious Enquirer's Request; who, in his * Preface, desir'd another Sense might be given of the Passages he had cited in his Book. This I have endeavour'd to do with as much Sincerity (I think) as he solemnly professes he collected them at first: And, upon Reflexion on the whole, I am sorry

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I must

¶ Quod enim ex historia electionis Matthiæ & Diaconorum profertur, nihil ad rem facit — Sicut adversus Morellium & alios deinceps ejus sectatores in synodis Gallicis est abundè probatum. *Beza Tract. Theol. Genev.* 1582. Vol. 3. Ep. 83. p. 307.

* See Pref. p. 7.

I must repeat what I observ'd at the Beginning; That his singular Manner of mis-representing the Primitive Custom of electing and constituting a Bishop in a vacant See, appears to me a greater Occasion of the unhappy Controversies and Divisions about it, than the Primitive Custom (truly stated) could ever have given to the most exceptionous Adversaries of the Church.

I'll mark out the Particulars, (tho' you have heard the most of them already) that we may view and judge at once.

First, He makes that to be a stated *Right of Election* in the People, which, by the genuine Sense of his own Quotations, as well as the apparent Practice of the Church, we have seen amounts to no more (within his Period of Time) than their publick Testimony, Information, or chearful Approbation of the Candidates, which the Provincial Bishops should think fit to ordain.

Secondly, He has asserted that Right of the People under such general Terms of a *Primitive Practice*, as to lead the Reader into an easy Persuasion, that it must have been of original Institution, either from Christ or his Apostles: Whereas the Holy Scriptures declare no such Institution, nor set forth any such Divine Charter for it; but assure us of the contrary, that the full Power of ordaining Elders in the Church, was a Personal Charge entrusted wholly with the first Founders and Governors of the Apostolical Churches, and convey'd down so accordingly, without any such Condition in it.

Thirdly, He has pronounc'd the Ordaining, or Constituting a Bishop, in a vacant See, to be absolutely

solutely *invalid*, without such a Popular Election in it; and by not defining wherein that *Validity*, he means, does consist, has led the vulgar Reader again into a ready Opinion, that at no Time, in no Place, or Province whatsoever, a Christian Bishop could be warrantably ordain'd, and set over any Church, without such an Election of the People to authorize and qualify him for it: Whereas it may be seen, (I think) by what has been prov'd upon this Subject before, that the utmost Validity any such Sort of Ordinations in any Age of the Church has had, was grounded only on the prudential Consent, or Canons, of such Provincial Bishops as had agreed to exercise that ordaining Power they were entirely entrusted with from above, in that particular Manner, so long as Times and Persons should encourage them to let those Canons remain in Force; and all this obliging no farther, than within their own Districts or Jurisdictions, and repealable at Will, as having no Divine Command for it.

Fourthly and *lastly*, To finish all, he has advanc'd a singular and unheard-of Notion (as I humbly conceive) of two noted Ecclesiastical Terms in Use amongst us, *Ordination* and *Installation*, making them equivocal * and convertible Terms, and offers it for current Truth, that *Ordaining* and *Installing* of a Bishop are one and the same Thing, frankly translating the Word [*Ordinare*] in the ancient Writings of the Fathers by this *English* Word of [*Installing*]; and,

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* See Enq. p. 49.

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which is stranger still, makes this Installing-Act to be perform'd by Imposition of Episcopal Hands. Now if Ecclesiastical Records, either ancient or modern, could warrant this Sort of Language, I wish he had (at least) pointed to them: And yet suppose it could be so, (which I confess is un-imaginable to me) yet, to write to *English* Readers in their own Tongue, where Episcopal Imposition of Hands, and Instalment of a Bishop, are so † apparently different Things, gives an unhappy Suspicion of some secret Notion to be insinuated into Men, which was not to be spoken out. And so, indeed, the present Case in hand did require; for if the sacred Act of *Ordination* by Imposition of Episcopal Hands, imprinted any other Character upon the Person so consecrated or ordain'd, than the meer Act of *Instalment* does; (in the *English* Notion and Practice of it) then these two unfortunate Consequences (as our learned Author thinks them) would ensue upon it: 1st, That the Provincial Bishops Part in ancient Ordinations was something more than their bare Consent and Approbation of the Peoples Election, which is the chief Part he allows them in the Case. And, 2^{dly}, That their Imposition of Hands at this Installing-Ordination might look like advancing of the Candidate to a new Order,

† See Godolphin's Repert. Canon. p. 26, and 44. Edit. 3. Lond. 1687. Where he shews us, that a Bishop is compleie to all Intents and Purposes, both as to Temporalities and Spiritualities, after Consecration: But Instalment is perform'd afterwards, in a Manner different enough, by Officers and Ceremonies, very little a-kin to those of Consecration.

der, which would lessen the Peoples Part too much in making Bishops for themselves, and overturn the whole Scheme of his next Chapter; which is to prove, that the Orders of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* in the Church are plainly one and the same. This shall be consider'd farther in its own Place: In the mean time, let any impartial Man seriously consider what Probability there is, that such Representations of Antiquity as these should answer the pious Ends of our ingenious Enquirer, and contribute to heal the unhappy Divisions of the Church in the Case and Controversy now before us; since (as far as I am able to observe) these, and such-like Misunderstandings of the Primitive Practice, are the sad Occasions of their being so many, and so unhappy as they are.

C H A P. IV.

TO heal Divisions in a Church, and displease none that make them, are two such Works of Charity as can scarce consist together. Yet, to carry this as far as it would go, the good Enquirer seems to aim at both; the former he solemnly professes in his Preface, the latter as visibly appears in the Performance itself: But with what Success, and by what Means he has done it, in a great measure appears by what has gone before, and in this fourth Chapter will be much clearer still.

There are three or four Parties (as he * tells us himself) which he aim'd to reconcile: He began with the *Independents Cause*, and in order to make them and the rest agree, he has strain'd Antiquity (you see) to make it speak *their Sense* in the *Points of Congregational Dioceses*, and the *Popular Right of choosing their own Bishops*, (the main Matters they contend for) which no doubt of it, will offend none of them; but as to clearing up the Truth in their Case, and bringing them to a peaceful Disposition for compromising Matters, with such as differ from them; we may justly fear, by the palpable Violence he has done to the holy Fathers Writings for their sake, he has done little or nothing that can tend to that happy End.

He now proceeds, to bring the *Presbyterian Party* to a Temper, by much the same Way; that is, by allowing them fairly, as fast as he can, without regard to such as differ from them, the chief and fundamental Point they insist upon, *the Equality of Order in the Bishop, and the Presbyter*; and to clear his Way for that, he defines his *Presbyter* thus: *A Person in Holy Orders, having thereby an inherent Right to perform the whole Office of a Bishop; but being possess'd of no Place or Parish, not actually discharging it without the Permission and Consent of the Bishop of a Place or Parish.*

The main Difference, in the Argument before us, lies in the former Part of this Definition; but our learned Author chose to prove the latter

* *Enq. Pref.* p. 54, — 57.

latter Clause first, viz. that without the Bishop's Leave, a Presbyter could discharge no single Part of his Function; and for plainer Evidence in that Case, he reckon'd up most of the particular Acts relating to it, and beyond exception prov'd, that in every Point it was so: Yet after all, he had so wonderful and singular a Notion of this evident Subjection of the Presbyters to their Bishops, in every Ministerial Act of theirs within their Bishops Jurisdiction, that he could affirm without Scruple, in another Place, that *Presbyters rul'd in those Churches they belong'd to*, and plac'd this Ruling Power of theirs amongst the several other Premisses, from whence an Equality of Order in Bishop and Presbyter was to be inferr'd at last; notwithstanding the palpable Inequality he had so plainly own'd (you see) in this Particular before; which, to speak the most of it, might serve as well to prove, that Kings and Viceroyes, or any deputed Officers of theirs, are one and the same Order of Men in any Civil State, because in some Capacity, and in Subordination to one another, they are all Rulers within the same Jurisdiction, tho' 'tis sufficiently known how vastly different their Order and Authority are, consider'd in themselves. But to come closer to the Point.

'Tis in the former Part of our learned Author's Definition, that the Question in Debate is stated all at once, and with great Assurance determin'd by him too. *A Presbyter (says he) is a Person in holy Orders, having thereby an inherent Right to perform the whole Office of a Bishop.*

Now, two Things, directly contrary to the declar'd Sense, as well as Language, and Practice

of the Primitive Church, are manifestly included in this single Proposition.

First, That the solemnest Rites or Holy Offices which the Primitive Church ever used for promoting any Presbyter into the Station of a Bishop, added nothing more to his former Character and Order, than a Right and Title only to exercise those Powers (to the full) which were inherent in him before. And,

Secondly, That all the Clerical Offices which any Bishop of the Church could perform, a Presbyter also, by vertue of his Orders alone, had a Right and Power invested in him (by the Bishops Leave only) to perform the same.

Let this great Controversy be try'd then by the clear Evidence of Antiquity in these material Points; and if in both, or either of them, the Primitive Church be found notoriously to declare a contrary Judgment in the Case, and their Practice as direct a Contradiction to them too, it must follow of course, that a Presbyter in their Times, and in their Opinion of him, had not an inherent Right by his Orders to perform the whole Office of a Bishop, as this learned Author affirms.

To begin with the first of these, the Sense and Judgment of Antiquity, concerning that Holy Rite, or Solemn Office of promoting a Presbyter to the Station of a Bishop; wherein I observe, (after the Example, and by Encouragement from the * Enquirer himself)

First, That the same *Word*, which all Antiquity uses for expressing the Promotion of a Lay-Man

* See p. 10.

Man to a Deacon, or a Deacon to a Presbyter, they used also for the Promotion of Presbyters into the Station of a Bishop : 'Tis *Ordination* of Bishops, as well as of Priests and Deacons, in the familiar Language of the Fathers : This our Enquirer owns, for he has quoted an Authority from *S. Cyprian* for it, [Pag. 49.] and 'tis too obvious a Matter to need any Proofs. Hence I argue then, (in * *his own Words*) *If the same Appellation of a thing be a good Proof for the Identity of its Nature,* then the Rite of consecrating a Bishop must confer a new Order upon him, because the same Name is familiarly used for it, as for the Rite of ordaining a Presbyter, who undoubtedly had a new Order conferr'd upon him by it : In this Manner, our Enquirer proves his Bishops and Presbyters to be of one and the same Order, from the Identity of their Names, [Enq. Pag. 67.] and those Names sufficiently liable to distinct Constructions of them, [as we shall see in due Time and Place ;] and tho' the Argument would have had considerable Weight in it, if he had prov'd the main Thing necessary there ; namely, that a *Presbyter* was ordinarily, or indeed ever call'd a *Bishop*, after the Apostolical Age was a little over ; yet for want of that, (which he did not, and I am free to say he cannot prove) his Argument, I think, cannot come up to the Application I make of it here ; since the Word *Ordination*, for making of Bishops, has been authentick in all Ages of the Church, without any Mark of Distinction put upon it ; and for Fathers, Councils, and Historians generally to make use of it, where no *Order* is given at all,
not

* See Enq. p. 67.

not only puts a Force upon the Word itself, but is little less than an Imposition upon all Posterity also, by applying one and the same common Term to Solemn Rites of the Church, of so near a Resemblance to one another in all visible Appearance, and yet so vastly different in the Intention of the Church, as our Enquirer's singular Notion of it would make it to be; tho', I believe, he is the first who ever ventur'd to tell the World, that Ordination in the making of a Bishop did, in our Language, signify no more than meer *Instalment*, (as I observ'd before) and now again will have the Meaning of it to be a Presbyter's *Institution* and *Induction* into a Cure; which to have prov'd as well as said, had been no more than was necessary to his Cause. But,

Secondly, As the Name, so the Rite itself of constituting a Primitive Bishop, deserves to be consider'd; a single Bishop, by the ancient Canons of the Church, and by sufficient Evidence besides, might ordain a Presbyter or Deacon: But to make a *Bishop*, a whole Province of Bishops (our learned Enquirer knows) did most commonly assemble, and with the like holy Ceremony, by which all Orders of the Church were conferr'd, that is, by *Imposition of Hands*, and Prayers, did collate that Power and Character upon him, which ever after, and never before [as far as Fact and Words together can prove it] he was invested in; and if the former be the giving of an *Order* by a single Hand, and this latter but a Licence (as it were) to use it; or as our learned Author chooses to express it, but a formal *Instalment* into an Episcopal Chair; then the greater sacred Solemnity, this united Appli-
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cation of an Apostolical Rite to it, and this joint Synodical Invitation of the Holy Spirit for it, are all of them to so singular and indifferent a Purpose as is not to be parallel'd (we may safely say) in any other Ministerial Solemnity in the whole OEconomy of the Christian Church.

Thirdly, By this *Ordination*, the promoted Presbyter became a Member of a distinct Ecclesiastical College, from all other Officers or Ministers in the Church, from whence *S. Cyprian* so peculiarly calls the Bishops his *Collegues* in that higher Function with him, which (as humble as he was) he never once apply'd to § Presbyters or Deacons; and we know one immediate Effect of it was, that he gain'd a *Ruling Power* over both of them, tho' he was but a co-ordinate Brother to the highest of them before; and such as are Curious to see how such distinct Colleges imply'd distinct Orders in them, in the Nature of the thing, may find it learnedly argued by the late singularly learned and inquisitive Antiquary Mr. *Dodwell*, in his Tenth Dissertation upon *S. Cyprian*. But,

Fourthly, This promoted Presbyter, from the time he had pass'd under the Provincial Imposition of Hands, acquir'd a Prerogative and Jurisdiction Parallel to that of God's High-Priest amongst the Jews. Thus *S. Cyprian* not only makes the Rebellion of his Presbyters and others against him, of the same Kind with that of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* against *Aaron*, but affirms the

§ The Enquiry affirms the Contrary, p. 74. But no Proof, as I shall make appear in its proper Place.

the same Law which God gave for the High-Priest, or any the supremest Ruler whatsoever, to judge decisively in the great Council of their Sanhedrim, and to punish the Offender, did authorize the Christian Bishop to judge and censure rebellious Schismatics within his Jurisdiction. So || he assures *Rogatian* (a Bishop of his Province) and applies it to his own and *Cornelius's* Case, in another † Epistle; where he gives us a farther Character of his promoted Presbyter's Dignity too, viz. That he was then become the *one Judge*, as well as the *one High-Priest*, and *Christ's Vicegerent in the Church*. Farther, he is from that time peculiarly rank'd in the Number of the *Apostles Successors*, to whom they themselves committed their Churches, and deliver'd up to them their Place of *Mastership*, or *Magisterial Authority* in them. So * *Irenaeus* says in plain Terms, and in that very Place where he was proving Orthodoxy from the Personal Succession of them, which our § Enquirer owns related to the Supreme Presbyter or Bishop alone. Again,
S. Cyprian

|| Cum pro episcopatus vigore & cathedræ autoritate haberes potestatem, quâ posses de illo statim vindicari, habens circa hujusmodi homines *præcepta divina*, cum Dominus Deus in Deuteronomio dicit, & homo quicumq; fuerit in superbia ut non exaudiat sacerdotem, &c. *Cypr. Ep. 3. § 1. Edit. Oxon.*

† *Cypr. Ep. 59. § 4.* Unus in Ecclesiâ ad tempus sacerdos, & ad tempus iudex vice Christi.

* Habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis — his vel maxime ea [sc. recondita mysteria] traderent, quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant — *successores* relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum *magisterii* tradentes. *Iren. lib. 3. cap. 3.*

§ Enq. p. 12, 13.

S. Cyprian † minds Cornelius (Bishop of Rome) to be zealous with him of the Unity of the Church, because it came from the Lord, and by the Apostles (says he) to us their Successors. || Firmilian styles Bishops the Apostles Successors by a Vicarious Ordination. § And the Confessor, Clarus à Mascula, (a Bishop in the Carthaginian Council under S. Cyprian) gives this unanswerable Suffrage for it: *The Sentence (says he) of our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest, who sent his Apostles, and granted to them alone the Power which was given to him of the Father, whom we succeed, governing the Church of the Lord with the same Power. Lastly, he presided in the Consistory (to use * S. Ignatius's Words) in the Place of God, whilst the Presbyters (in Analogy to that Comparison) sat as a College of Apostles under him, and then the Deacons as entrusted with the Ministerial Service of Jesus Christ. Very singular Phrases! for expressing Officers, whereof any two were of the same Order. These and many such Characters of a common*

† Ut unitatem à domino & per Apostolos nobis successoribus traditam, quantum possumus obtinere curemus. Cypr. Ep. 45. ad Cornel. p. 88. Edit. Oxon.

|| — Et episcopis, qui eis [sc: Apostolis] ordinatione vicarià successerunt. Ep. Firmil. inter Ep. Cypr. 75. p. 225.

§ Manifesta est sententia domini nostri Jesu Christi Apostolos suos mittentis, & ipsis solis potestatem à patre sibi datam permittentis, quibus nos *successimus, eadem potestate ecclesiam domini gubernantes.* Concil. Carthag. apud Cypr. Suffrag. 79. p. 242.

* Πεγκαθημένον τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ εἰς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ εἰς τὸν συνεδεῖν τῷ ὑποστόλων, καὶ τῷ διακόνων πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. § 6.

mon Presbyter, after Ordination by Provincial Bishops, which 'twould be tedious to set down, are frequently to be met with in the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, whereof not one of them was attributed to him till then, or to any in that inferiour Station wherein he stood before; and if these Accessions of Superlative Titles, Prerogatives, and Jurisdiction, denote no other Order conferr'd upon him than he had before, it will be very difficult to conceive, in what Sense the Jewish High-Priest, the Christian Apostles, the supremest Judges and Rulers in Societies, or the peculiar Vicegerents of God himself, are of a higher Order in Church or State, than all other Men of whatsoever Dignity or Station in any of them besides. Not to mention the unaccountable Notion of an inherent Character, fully and completely stamp'd, and virtually resting in every Presbyter (from their first Ordination) of the same Nature with this of a Bishop; which is as much as to say, that the Holy Spirit in the Government of the Church does, by Sacred Ministerial Acts, conferr such Spiritual Powers and Characters upon Numbers of Men beforehand, which not one in twenty (by modest Computation) shall in the Course of Providence ever stand in need of; for in such Proportion, 'tis more than likely, I think, that every Presbyter shall not be made a Bishop. 'Tis time enough to have all, when they are call'd to use them, and the Provincial Ordinations were undoubtedly instituted that they should not want them then.

But

But all this must be nothing; let Bishops be never so sacredly ordain'd for their particular Function, and govern every Order of Men in their Churches with an Apostolical Authority and Jurisdiction, as peculiar to them alone, as it was to the Apostles themselves; their Order is no whit advanc'd by it, (tho' such sort of Qualifications distinguish Orders of Men in every Society besides) so long as the Presbyters also had a Right and Power to discharge * all Clerical Offices (there the Crisis lies) as fully to all Intents and Purposes, as any Bishop in the World.

I'll join Issue with our learned Author in this Enquiry also; and doubt not, but we shall meet with great Mistakes here: Tho' we shall find an Equality of Sovereignty in the Government of the Church, as nicely contended for all along, as that of Clerical Offices are, notwithstanding he disavow'd such an equal Sovereignty as that, at the first stating of his Presbyter's Case. This is evident (I think) in the first Instance of his Presbyter's Authority; which is this, *They presided* (says he) *in Church Consistories, and compos'd the Executive Part of the Ecclesiastical Power*; that is, they were joint Commissioners in the Judicial Power there, and so far, upon the Level with the Bishop himself, in judging Causes that came before them, else they might be as Justices of the Peace to Judges in Civil Courts, if they had not a Judicial Power as well as he; or as Privy Counsellors to a King, which would doubtless lower their Order below their Bishops, and not
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* See Enq. Pag. 57.

come up to his Case : But by the Choice of his Quotation for it, we may be sure he meant no less ; for *approv'd Elders presided* (says *Tertullian*) which our learned * Author here applies to his Presbyters sitting in their peculiar Consistory ; and to shew how great Stress is laid upon this short Quotation, it is offer'd us in the next Leaf again ; to help a weak Authority out, which otherwise could not prove what our Author was zealously contending for there ; namely, that Bishops and Presbyters had an equal Power in them to *Baptize, Confirm, and Ordain*.

These are pretty material Points (you'll say) to depend so much (as really they do here) upon this short disputed Sentence at the best, and that with this Supposition in the Case, that both this and the other Parallel Quotation in the next Leaf, were *spoken of the Discipline exerted in one particular Church or Parish, in which there was but one Bishop ; and if only he had presided, then there could not have been Elders in the Plural Number*. Thus † he states the Argument himself.

The Reader will excuse me, if I am a little more Particular than ordinary in examining these Authorities ; the Case is of Moment, tho' the Words are few ; and to lay the Supposition (here insisted upon) in a clear Light, I shall be oblig'd to consider these three Things : 1st, The Occasion of the Words : 2^{dly}, The plain Sense and Meaning of them : And 3^{dly}, Compare the Parallel Places, to shew how they illustrate one another.

1st.

* Probati præsident seniores. *Tertul. Apol. c. 39.*

† Enq. p. 61.

1st, The Occasion of *Tertullian's* Words was this ; * the Christians were under a general Persecution in the *Roman Empire*. *Tertullian* dedicating an *Apology* for them, to the several † *Governors* of the Empire, vindicates them as they lay jointly charged, under the general Name of a *Faction* in the State. Accordingly, at the very Entrance of that Part of his *Apology*, wherein he represents the innocent Manner, both of the Christian Discipline and Worship ; (and whereof the Quotation, now in question, is a Part) he prefaces it in these Words : || *Now* (says he) *I'll shew you plainly what this Christian Faction is taken up about, or how they are employ'd ; surely this Christian Faction, which is not only a Noun of Multitude, but in the Sense which the Roman Governors understood it, comprehended the whole Body of Christians in it, must be meant in the same Sense by the Sagacious Apologist too, who professedly undertook to vindicate them All ; and not for any single Congregation of them in some private Quarter of the Empire ; else the Roman Governors (to whom he addresses in all Parts) had but slender Motives offer'd them to cease their Persecution in every Province ; and the good Apologist had but little Regard to the Common Cause of all his Brethren.*

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But

* Operata sectæ hujus infestatio — odii erga nomen Christianorum. *Apol.* p. 1.

† Vobis, Romani Imperii Antistites. *Apol.* in Exord.

|| Eadem jam nunc ego ipse negotia Christianæ factionis. *Cap.* 39.

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But, *Secondly*, To come to the plain Sense and Meaning of the Words themselves, *approv'd Elders preside*: And here I am contented, the learned Enquirer himself should be his own Interpreter and Commentator for me; for at the 19th Page of this Enquiry, he was zealously proving from the Testimony of Antiquity, that a Bishop could have *but one Communion Table in his Diocese*; and amongst other Authorities, insisted earnestly upon these Words of * *Tertullian*, *That Christians receiv'd the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the Hands of the Bishop alone*; so he translates the Passage, which, as you may see in the Margin here, is *from the Hand of those who preside*: Now if those *who preside* in *Tertullian's* Language, must needs be no other than the *Supreme Bishops* themselves; (without which Construction, all the Argument in it, which the Enquirer makes for a Congregational Diocese, is utterly lost there) Then his *Approv'd Presiding Elders*, in the Quotation now before us, must necessarily be spoken also of the Bishops or Heads of several Churches or Congregations within the *Roman Empire*, because a single one could have but one such Elder belonging to it, in the declar'd Opinion of the learned Enquirer himself; and then what will become of the two important Points built upon this Supposition alone, that *Tertullian* spake but of one Congregation? I shall trust to this Evidence for the plain Meaning of the Words, and proceed,

Thirdly,

* Nec de aliorum manu, quam de presidentium sumimus. *Tert. de Cor. Mil. c. 3. p. 121. Edit. 2. Rigalt.*

Thirdly, To consider that Parallel Place of another Primitive Father, which, in the Opinion of our judicious * Author himself, and (as he tells us) of most learned Men with him, is so plainly of the same Import and Signification with this, that they mutually explain one another. The Passage is in a noted Epistle of *Firmilian* to *S. Cyprian*; and, in the Enquirer's own Translation, is render'd thus: † *All Power and Grace is constituted in the Church where Seniors preside, who have the Power of Baptizing, Confirming, and Ordaining.* Now I readily agree, that this Passage, and the former in *Tertullian*, do help to explain one another; and chiefly in these following Particulars, upon which the present Application of them does mainly depend.

First, That whereas there was some Scruple rais'd from the Words of *Tertullian*, whether he was speaking of the Collective Body of Christians, or no; there is no room for any such Question to be made here, since the immediate Occasion of *Firmilian's* Words was to prove this, that out of the *Catholick Church* there was no Grace or Power given to ratify any one Ministerial Act whatsoever. Every one knows, who ever read that Epistle, 'twas the Invalidity of *Heretical Baptism* which he was there contending for, against the contrary Decree of *Stephen*, Bishop of *Rome*, about it; and that Controversy, I presume all Men will allow, was

N 2

between

* Enq. p. 61.

† Quando omnis potestas & gratia in Ecclesiâ constituta sit, ubi præsent majoris natu, qui & baptizandi, & manum imponendi, & ordinandi possident potestatem. Apud Cypr. Ep. 75. § 6, Edit. Oxon.

between the Catholick Church collectively consider'd on the one hand, and all Manner of Heresies and Schisms, of whatsoever Kind, on the other: So that the Church, wherein *Firmilian* affirms, the *Majores natu*, or *Seniors*, did preside, invested with such a Fulness of Power for effectually executing every Ecclesiastical Office in it, was no less than the *Universal Church* of Christ upon Earth, as it stood distinguish'd from all Sorts of Sects, who separated from her; and in this material Particular, this Parallel Place of *Firmilian* may help a doubting Reader to understand what Sort of Church *Tertullian* also meant, wherein his *Approv'd Elders* did preside. And then,

Secondly, As to the common Word of *Presiding*, used by both the venerable Fathers alike; if *Firmilian's* Sense of it should not be clear enough for us, yet *Tertullian's* Notion of a *President*, or *Presiding Elder* in a Church, being so plainly interpreted by our learned *Enquirer* (as we have seen already) to be the single or Supreme Bishop of the Church he presided in, in this Particular *Tertullian* may be said to expound *Firmilian's* Meaning for us, and satisfy the Reader, that his *Presiding Seniors* were no less than such Supreme Bishops also, in exact Conformity to *S. Cyprian's* Language too, who says of the Christian Bishops in general, * that they were [*Ætate Antiqui*] *ancient in Years*, that is, *Seniores*, as well as found in Faith. And yet,

Thirdly,

* Per omnes provincias & per urbes singulas, ordinati sunt Episcopi in *Ætate Antiqui*, in fide integri. *Cypr. Ep. 55. p. 112. Edit. Oxon.*

Thirdly, Let *Firmilian* be allowed to explain himself more fully. In the next Paragraph he had a fair Occasion to do it; and accordingly he did: He was arguing (as we observ'd before, and the whole Epistle shews it) against *Stephen*, Bishop of *Rome*, and his Party, who maintain'd Imposition of Hands sufficient for admitting a baptiz'd Heretick into the Church, without any farther Baptism than what they had in their Heresie; and his Argument against it runs thus: *How is this* (says he) *that when we see Paul baptiz'd his Disciples again after John's Baptism, we should make any doubt of baptizing them who return from Heresy to the Church after that unlawful and prophane Baptism of theirs, unless Paul was less than these Bishops, of whom we are speaking now, || that these indeed might give the Holy Ghost by Imposition of Hands alone; but Paul was insufficient for it.* Here we plainly see what Kind of *Seniors* in the Church *Firmilian* was speaking of, and to whom he attributed the Right of Baptism, Imposition of Hands, and Ordination, just before; for those who were to lay their Hands upon the returning Hereticks, (the immediate Subject then in hand) he calls by the proper and express Name of *Bishops*, an incommunicable Term to any inferiour Elders of the Church (if we may believe approved * Antiquaries) in that *Cypri-*

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|| Quale est autem — &c. — nisi si his *Episcopis*, de quibus nunc, minor fuit Paulus, ut hi quidem possint per solam manus impositionem venientibus Hæreticis dare sp. sanctum, Paulus autem idoneus non fuerit. *Apud Cypri. Ep. 75. § 6. p. 221. Edit. Oxon.*

* See *Bishop Pearson and Mr. Dodwell in Pearson's Dissert. prima de succel. prim. Rom. Episc. c. 9. p. 97. in 4to. Lond. 1688.*

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anick Age; and, I make no doubt of it, could any Instance to the contrary be given, our learned Author (who has a Collection of honorary Titles for his Presbyters, and argues zealously upon them) would scarce have overlook'd it, or fail'd to have told us where it might be found.

Thus I have given the clear and genuine Sense both of *Tertullian* and *Firmilian's* Expressions together; from whence it appears,

First, That the Presbyters Ruling Power in the Consistory, as joint Commissioners with their Bishop there, (which was the first main Point they were brought to prove) can't be grounded upon either of them, since they have no Relation to the private Presbytery of a particular Church at all, but were manifestly spoken with reference to the single Supreme Governors, or Bishops of all the several Dioceses, either within the *Roman* Empire, or the whole Catholick Church: And, indeed, I would gladly understand how our ingenious Author disposes of the [*Πρωτοκαθεδρεια*, or] Right of the *first Chair* in the Primitive Presbyteries, (by which he and his Friends so nicely evade the Bishop's *higher Order* in the Church) if all his Presbyters were *Presidents* there, as the Application of these Quotations to them does literally make them to be. But.

Secondly, By this apparent Sense of the Holy Fathers Words, it appears also, that the only Passage in Antiquity our *Inquisitive* Author cou'd present us with, to prove the Presbyters Right and Power to ordain, contains no such Matter in it; but, on the contrary, places all Power of

of Baptism, Confirmation, and Ordination, in the Bishops Possession, for such we find *Firmilian's Seniors* in the Church to be.

Yet, since a full Power to ordain could not be found for his Presbyters, our Enquirer claims a Share, at least, from that noted Case of *Timothy's* being ordain'd * by, or rather with, *the Laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery*. Now this is saying more for *Calvin's* Cause, than *Calvin* could say for himself; for he disowns it plainly, † that a College of Presbyters was meant by the Presbytery there, and maintains it, as his Opinion, that *S. Paul* ordain'd *Timothy* alone, from 2 *Tim.* i. 6. And the Assembly of *English Divines* || go so far with him, as to own, that all the Gifts which *Timothy* receiv'd at his Ordination, were from the Apostle's Hands upon him. It can't be deny'd, therefore, that the two different Accounts (tho' not contrary ones to be sure) of *Timothy's* Ordination, with the Presbytery in one Text, and by *S. Paul's own Hands* in t'other, has occasion'd Variety of Speculations upon them; and therefore it must be a feeble Argument, at the best, which depends on a positive Construction of either of them: And yet, the utmost it can afford so, is only a concomitant Act of an inferiour Order with an Apostle himself, and in a Case of Divine Designation

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* 1 *Tim.* iv.

† *Paulus ipse, se, non alios complures, Timotheo manus imposuisse commemorat — Quod de impositione manuum Presbyterii dicitur, non ita accipio, quæ Paulus de Seniorum Collegio loquatur. Calv. Instit. l. 4. c. 3. in fine.*

|| See *Assemb. Annot.* on 2 *Tim.* i. 6.

nation by Prophecy too: Which, since it can be no great Ground of Controversy amongst ourselves, where the like Kind of Practice of Presbyters joining in Imposition of Hands with their Superiors in every Ordination of their own Order, is constantly in Use, I need say the less; and shall only observe here, that our learned Enquirer grounds his Sense of it upon this; * *That the constant Signification of the Word Presbytery, in all the Writings of the Ancients, is such as he here insists upon, that is, it always denotes the Bishops and Presbyters of a particular Church or Parish (as his Terms for a Diocese are.)*

Yet, I am very sure, S. Ignatius calls the *Apostles alone the Presbytery of the Church*: For he tells the || *Philadelphians*, (in his Way to the Crown of Martyrdom) that he betook himself to the *Apostles as the Presbytery of the Church*. And since *Timothy* was ordain'd whilst these Superlative Presbyters were alive, and by an eminent one of them, I know no fairer Comment upon the Apostolical Phrase of his being ordain'd by the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery, than that he was ordain'd by a special Member of this *Apostolical Presbytery*; and if by more than so, 'twas neither impossible, nor unlikely, then, that some other Apostle, or Apostles, might concur with S. Paul in it: Especially, if we consider that *Timothy's* first Ordination may reasonably be dated from the Time that

* See Enq. p. 62, and 78.

|| Περσφυγῶν τοῖς ἑποσβάλοις, ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας. Ignat. ad Philad. § 3.

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that *S. Paul* would have him go forth with him, (*Acts* xvi. 3. which surely was for the Work of the Ministry) and that at *Derbe* or *Lystra*, not much above * four Years after the Gospel was first preach'd there, when a settled Consistory of inferiour Presbyters, and a Form of Ecclesiastical Discipline in it, could scarcely be expected amongst them.

How far the Presbyters Part in the Ordination is mention'd in this Sacred Text, together with the Testimonies of *Tertullian* and *Firmilian* before, (which are all the Authorities our inquisitive Author offers us) has prov'd the Power of Ordination to be *fully* inherent in them, I must leave the Reader to judge; and whether they are of Weight enough to balance the unanimous Consent of the Catholick Church to the contrary, for fifteen hundred Years together; whilst not so much as a single Example can be found of the Presbyters practising such a Power (without publick Censure and Protestation against it) in all that Time.

Two other Instances of *Ruling Power* in the Presbyters are these; they *excommunicated* (says he) and they *restor'd Penitents to the Church*. The Proof of the first is thus: *Felicissimus, Augendus*, and some others had made a Schism in S. Cyprian's Church; the holy Bishop in Exile is acquainted with it by two of his Presbyters, (*Rogatianus* and *Numidicus*) whom he had left in Joint-Commission with two Bishops of the Province (*Caldonius* and *Herculanus*) to inspect his
Diocese

* See *Bishop Pearson's Annal. Paul.* ab A. D. 46. ad A. D. 50. inclusive.

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Diocese in his Absence : To these four S. Cyprian writes a Letter, and having told them what Evidence he had had of *Felicissimus's* notorious Wickedness, sends this positive Order to them ; § *Let him receive the Sentence* (says he) *which he has first pass'd himself, that he may know he is Excommunicated by us;* (for he had threatened Excommunication to such as adhered to S. Cyprian) and * *Let any other who joins to that Faction, know also, that he shall not communicate in the Church with us.* Little Advice with Presbyters here, and less left for them to do. In Answer to this Letter, *Caldonius* with the two Presbyters, and other Bishops together, send word to S. Cyprian, that || *they had shut out Felicissimus, Augendus, and others from their Communion:* Now what *Caldonius*, and the other Bishops (here concern'd) did, in Conformity to Catholick Practice, shutting out from their Churches also, such as S. Cyprian had thus excommunicated from his, is no great Matter to us ; but that the two Presbyters did no more than execute S. Cyprian's Censure in his Church, is as plain Matter of Fact, I think, as Words can make it ; and accordingly the learned Bishop *Fell's* † Note upon it, does in so many Words make it so. This Excommunicating Power then
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§ Accipiat sententiam, quam prior dixit ut *abstentum se à nobis sciat.* Cypr. Ep. 41. Edit. Oxon. p. 80.

* Sed & quisquis se conspirationi & factioni ejus adjunxerit, sciat se in Ecclesia non esse nobiscum communicaturum. Ib.

|| Abstinuimus communicatione Felicissimum, Augendum, &c. Ep. 41.

† Abstinuimus sententiam à Cypriano latam executioni mandando. *Fel. in loc.*

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of S. Cyprian's Presbyters, is just such an one as any Vicar or Curate in the Church of *England* exercises, when by vertue of an Order from their Bishop's Court, they deny Communion to a censur'd Member, and make their Return of it; and that it was no more than so in respect of the Presbyters Power of Excommunicating and Absolving again in S. Cyprian's Church at that Time, will need no more Proof, I hope, when we consider, † that that holy Bishop authoriz'd the *very Deacons*, as well as Presbyters, in his Absence to receive the Penitents Confession, and by the solemn Ministerial Act of Imposition of Hands to absolve them, if need requir'd, that is, to bind or loose them as effectually as if he had done it himself; and I believe our learned Enquirer will not infer from hence, that those Deacons had a Power of the Keys inherent in their Orders, because they could thus exercise it with their Bishop's Leave; and yet if he will argue after the same Manner, as he does from one end to the other of this Scheme, he must grant that; for his Fundamental Hypothesis is nothing more than this, that the Presbyter's Order was equal to the Bishop's, because they could, with his leave, exercise every Clerical Office which the Bishop himself could do. Some of those Acts I have already shewn, (and particularly that of Ordination) they never did,

† Non expectatâ præsentia nostrâ apud presbyterum quemcunq; præsentem, vel si presbyter repertus non fuerit, & urgere exitus caperit, apud diaconum quoq; exomologesin facere delicti sui possit, ut manu eis in poenitentiam impositâ veniant ad dominum cum pace, *Cypr. Ep. 18. Edit, Oxon.*

did, nor can it any ways be prov'd they could do; and I shall prove it afterwards (I think) in more, and I hope our ingenious Author will think it worth his considering, what a confus'd Equality of all Orders in the Church will ensue, if every Ecclesiastick be allow'd to have the same Order with the Supreme, who can execute such Ministerial Offices as he shall require him (in his stead) to do. The Case of S. Cyprian's Deacons, just now mention'd, is a sufficient Instance of it; and more of that Kind will appear in considering the next Head, which is this: —

*Tho' as to every Particular Act of the * Bishop's Office, (says our learned Author) it could not be prov'd that a Presbyter did discharge them; yet it would be sufficient, if we could prove in general that he could, and did do so.*

To make this out, he quotes two Letters of S. Cyprian to his Clergy, || wherein he *exhorts, begs and commands them, to discharge their own and his Office also, that so nothing might be wanting, either to Discipline or Diligence: And again, § that they would, in his stead, perform those Offices which the Ecclesiastical Dispensation requires.* This is partly answer'd, by what we have heard of the Presbyters and Deacons Ministerial Acts, by his Leave and his Instructions above. Yet I may farther

* See Enq. p. 62.

|| Fungamini illic & vestris partibus ac meis, ut nihil vel ad disciplinam vel ad diligentiam desit. *Cypr. Ep. 5. § 1.*

§ His literis & hortor & mando ut vos — vice mea fungamini circa gerenda ea, quæ administratio religiosa deponit. *Ep. 6. § 2. alias Ep. 14. Edit. Oxon.*

farther ask this plain Question still: Why are these Letters quoted to prove the Presbyters (*only*) could do the Bishop's Business for him? They are both * directed to the Deacons as well as Presbyters expressly by Name, and the Command given to both jointly without any Distinction; which, since the Deacons, as we see before, had used the Keys for him, why not they entrusted with such an Executive Part of his Episcopal Power as was intended here, being address'd to one as well as t'other? especially since S. Cyprian, in the Close of the latter Epistle, || *griev'd to hear that his People would not be govern'd by Deacons or Presbyters either*; implying fairly enough, that he had entrusted his *Governing Power* as far as it could be discharged by a Deputation, to *both of them*. So little does it prove an Equality of Order in S. Cyprian's Sense and Practice, for inferior Ecclesiasticks to do those Clerical Offices by his Bishop's Order and Leave, which his Character otherwise did not allow him to do.

We have a Form of Words in our own Church Discipline, which very much resembles this; for an *English* Bishop instituting a Parochial Priest, says thus: § *Take my Cure upon you, and your own too*; and I believe no Man ever imagin'd that the instituted Clerk had a Power in him to Visit, Confirm, or Ordain in any one Part of the Diocese; tho' a Trust of *his Bishop's Cure*, in our

* Cypr. presbyteris & diaconis fratribus. *Tit. Ep. 5.*
& 14. *Edis. Oxon.*

|| Doleo enim quando audio quosdam improbè, &c. —
nec à diaconis aut presbyteris regi posse. *Ep. 14.*

§ Accipe curam tuam & meam. *Godolph. Repert. Canon. c. 24.*

our Author's Way of Reasoning, would infer so much : But S. Cyprian's Commission to his Presbyters and Deacons, had a Clause in it sufficient to explain this ; which is likewise imply'd in our Institutions, and in all such general Commissions as those ; * *Perform such Offices* (says he) *for yourselves and me, as the Ecclesiastical Dispensation requires* ; that is, as much of it as your Orders and Station in the Church can allow of. Could our Author have prov'd that the Presbyters or Deacons had *ordain'd* (for Instance) so much as one single Clerk in the Church in S. Cyprian's Absence, by vertue of this great Trust repos'd in them, it had been something to the Purpose ; but since there is no Tittle of any such thing in all S. Cyprian's Works, or in any Collateral History to be found, but on the contrary that S. Cyprian himself in his Retirement || ordain'd such as the Necessities of the Church requir'd ; I must confess I can't see that the Argument proves any thing that 'twas brought for.

Upon the whole Matter, I rather conceive that ingenious Author, by unwarily offering to publick View this Commission of S. Cyprian to his Presbyters and *Deacons together*, to discharge his Part for him, without any Mark of Discrimination in either of the Epistles, has discover'd that plain Truth which overturns his whole Hypothesis at once : Namely, that to be qualify'd to discharge a Clerical Office by the Bishop's Leave for it, is no Proof at all that the Person so discharging it, had a Power to do it before, inherent in his

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* See the Quotation before.

|| See Cyp. Ep. 29, 38, 39, &c.

own Orders ; for some share of Government in the Church (at least) and the Power of the Keys, in some signal Instances of it, might be prov'd inherent in the Deacons Orders from this very Commission of their Bishop to them, and from what we have seen them entrusted to do before ; if that Way of Reasoning were true : And yet on this single Thread hangs all that our Enquirer has hitherto offer'd, to make the Orders of his Presbyters equal with the highest in the Church.

He strengthens the two Authorities from S. Cyprian's Letters, with a third * from the Presbyters at Rome, to them at Carthage ; both those Churches were destitute of a Bishop at that time ; Fabianus of Rome newly martyr'd in the Decian Persecution, and S. Cyprian retir'd upon the Account of it : The Carthaginian Presbyters, on this Occasion, write to their Brethren at Rome ; and those at Rome, in their Answer to them, write thus : || *And since it is incumbent on us, who seem to be Governors, and to keep the Flock instead of a Pastor ; if we should be found negligent, it will be said to us, as it was to those careless Governors [the Shepherds of Israel] before us, Ezek. xxxiv. 3, 4. That we look'd not after that which was lost, we did not correct him that wander'd, nor bound up him that was lame ; but we did eat their Milk, and were cover'd with their Wool.* Now,

* Enq. p. 63.

|| Et cum incumbat nobis, qui videmur præpositi esse, & vice pastoris custodire gregem, si negligentes inveniamur, dicetur nobis quod & antecessoribus nostris dictum est, qui tam negligentes præpositi erant ; quoniam perditum non requisivimus, errantem non correximus, & claudum non colligavimus, & lac eorum edebamus, & lanis eorum operiebamur. *Cypr. Ep. 8, § 1. Edit. Oxon.*

Now, the Argument from this Passage runs thus: The Presbyters in these Churches, having no Bishop amongst them, *seem'd themselves to be, as it were, Bishops of the Churches, and therefore they not only seem'd so, but (in Power and Order) actually were such, even as much as any before them ever were, or the next in Succession could be; for so the Argument supposes.*

And if that be so, I wonder what those very Presbyters meant, to tell S. Cyprian in their Letter to him very soon afterwards, † *That there was a greater Necessity lay upon them, to put off the Restitution of the Lapsed in their Church for the present, because they had no Bishop amongst them, who should order all those Things, and could with Authority and Council take a proper Course with them.* It seems, those Presbyters were conscious of a peculiar Authority in a Bishop, which was wanting in themselves. And so just they were indeed in the Words of the Quotation before us, as to say no more of themselves, than that they were *seemingly* the Governors of the Church, or, *as it were, Bishops in it* (as our Enquirer chooses to translate it;) very suitable Phrases for such *Guardians of the Spiritualities* as Dean and Chapter usually have been (and in many Cases are at this Day) for a vacant See; and yet their Order different enough from his, who in a little time is to put an End to their Trust: Such Trustees
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† *Quamquam nobis differendæ hujus rei necessitas major incumbat, quibus — nondum est Episcopus constitutus, qui omnia ista moderetur, & eorum, qui lapsi sunt, possit cum auctoritate & consilio habere rationem. Cypr. Ep. 30. § 6. Edit. Oxon.*

do all, which for a time may be necessary, not every Act of Clerical or Ministerial Power which a proper Officer, when invested in it, can do. This would appear to be the very Sense of the *Roman* Presbyters, to any who perus'd their Epistle, without Prejudice in the Case; for they specify, as well as speak in general, of the Care which was incumbent on them; but not a Tittle, amongst all, of supplying the Church (if need were) with new ordain'd Ministers, or confirming after Baptism, or the like: What sort of Care do they mention then? Why! That of *Exhortations to the Flock, not to fall away; to administer to the Wants of all; to give Christian Burial to the Martyrs*; and (to speak all freely, without Reserve) one material Advice they give to the *Carthaginian* Presbyters, which may be a Key to us to solve a very nice Difficulty in the present Argument; and that is, they exhort them (after their Example) * *to move the Lapsed to Repentance, if peradventure they might obtain their Absolution from him, who was able to give it*; which must either be meant of God alone, since Absolution of Apostates to Idolatry had not yet been decreed in the Church, (as the excellent Bishop

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* Non minimum periculum incumbere, si non hortati fueritis fratres vestros stare in fide immobiles — separatos à nobis — hortamur agere poenitentiam, si quo modo indulgentiam poterunt recipere *ab eo qui potest praestare.* — Si qui coeperint apprehendi infirmitate, & agant poenitentiam facti sui, & desiderent communionem, utiq; subveniri eis debet. — Corpora martyrum si non sepeliantur, grande periculum imminet eis quibus incumbit hoc opus — faciat Deus — ut omnes nos in his operibus inveniamur. *Cyp. Ep. 8. Edit. Oxon. p. 17, 18.*

Fell observes upon the Place) or at least must signify their own Incapacity for it at *Rome*, for want of that Authority to do it, which they own'd to *S. Cyprian* belong'd to the Bishop only; and yet forasmuch as the Catholick Church had solemnly * agreed that *her* Peace should be given to all in the Dying Hour, so far, by that general Authority from Episcopal Power they practis'd themselves, and advis'd the *Carthaginian* Presbyters to do: How far these three Authorities, then, do prove in general what the Particulars could not do, viz. that Presbyters could do all which a Bishop did, I must also leave with the Reader to consider again.

One Particular I have postpon'd indeed, because the former and that fell in so much with one another; I shall now consider it, to shew I pay Regard to all this learned Author offers; † the Presbyters (says he) confirm'd.

He brings no Proof for it here, but promises most evident ones in another Place: He means (I doubt not) in the second Part of his Enquiry. I'll step out of my Way a little, to bring his Arguments nearer into View: The Sum of all his Thoughts there, is this; || that Confirmation was a meer Part or Appendix only of Christian Baptism, and withall, the very same thing with † Absolution of Penitents, in the Sense of the Primitive

* Additum est — ut lapsis infirmis & in exitu constitutis pax daretur; Quæ literæ per totum mundum missæ sunt, & in notitiam Ecclesiis omnibus & universis fratribus perlatae sunt. *Cypr. ad Antonian. Ep. 55. p. 102. Edit. Oxon.*

† Enq. p. 60.

|| See Enq. Part 2. p. 85, &c.

† Ib. p. 92.

tive Church; and then concludes, † *since Presbyters could Baptize and Absolve, they could Confirm also.*

To prove it a meer Appendix of Baptism, he * tells us, he meets with *Unction, Signation, and Imposition of Hands*, as it were immediately apply'd to baptiz'd Persons (by some of the Primitive Fathers) at their coming out of the Water; and I believe he may do so; and he might add, that they were forthwith introduc'd into the Sacred *Synaxis*, or Solemn Assembly of the Faithful, to join in all the Service of the Church, and receive the Holy Eucharist, before they parted: Were all these therefore a meer Appendix of their Baptism, because so immediately following upon it, as || *Justin Martyr* plainly represents it to us? As well one as t'other, for any Force there is in this Way of Arguing. When *Catechumens* of Old had been thoroughly disciplin'd, and by Baptism made complete Disciples and Members of the Church, there was no holy Rite or Ordinance by which Grace was usually convey'd, but the zealous Pastors piously administred it to their new admitted Members, to call down all the Blessings of Heaven (as far as in them lay) for strengthening their Faith, and carrying on that Christian Warfare they were just engaged in: Insomuch as new baptiz'd Infants (we know) had the Blessed Eucharist itself then administred to them, and each of these holy Rites and Administrations

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† *Enq.* p. 91. Part 2. and p. 101.

* *Ib.* p. 80.

|| *Justin. Apol.* 2. p. 97. Colon. 1687.

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(we are sensible enough) were very different in themselves.

Not to dwell on Words therefore, which, all who know Primitive Discipline must own, are *common* to sundry Rites and Ministrations in the Church, and therefore conclude nothing of themselves; nor yet to gather scatter'd Sentences to prove a stated Practice by them; let us take a fair View of *Confirmation*, in a short and full Scheme of it, as the excellent S. *Cyprian* has drawn it up for us at once: 'Tis in a noted Passage of an Epistle of his, to this Purpose; which surely must displease some Men very much, else they would own something more in it, than our learned Enquirer does, who quotes it upon this very Subject, and thinks it proves Confirmation to be a meer Part of Baptism, and nothing more. Let the Reader judge from the Holy Martyr's Words, which are these: * *Those who believ'd in Samaria, had believ'd with a true Faith, and were baptiz'd within the Pale of the Church,* (which

* Illi qui in Samaria crediderant, fide verà crediderant, & intus in Ecclesia, quæ una est, & cui soli gratiam baptismi dare, & peccata solvere, permissum est, à Philippo diacono, quem iidem Apostoli miserant, baptizati erant. Et idcirco, quia *legitimum & ecclesiasticum baptisma* consecuti fuerant, baptizari eos *ultra* non oportebat. Sed tantummodo quod deerat; id à Petro & Johanne factum est, ut oratione pro eis habitâ, & manu impositâ, in vocaretur & infunderetur super eos Spiritus sanctus. Quod nunc quoq; apud nos geritur, ut qui in Ecclesiâ baptizantur, *præpositis* Ecclesiæ offerantur, & per *nostram* orationem ac manûs impositionem Spiritum sanctum consequantur, & signaculo Dominico consummentur. *Cypr. ad Fubaian. Ep. 73. p. 202. Edit. Oxon.*

(which is one, and to which alone Authority was given to conferr the Grace of Baptism, and to forgive Sins) and that by Philip the Deacon, whom the same Apostle had sent forth; and therefore since they had a Lawful and Ecclesiastical Baptism, they ought not to be any farther baptiz'd. But only that thing which was wanting, (plainly after their Lawful and Ecclesiastical Baptism) that was done by Peter and John, viz. that by Prayer offer'd up for them, and by Imposition of Hands, the Holy Spirit should be call'd upon, and poured forth upon them. The same which is in Use also amongst us at this Day, where such as are baptiz'd in the Church are presented to the Governors of the Church, that by our Prayer and Imposition of Hands, they may receive the Holy Spirit, and be consummated by the Seal of the Lord.

A few plain Questions may help to clear this Passage.

First, Did S. Cyprian (do we think) believe Philip's Baptism to be imperfect, who was sent forth by the Apostles themselves for that Purpose?

Secondly, Would he call a Defective Baptism, a Lawful and Ecclesiastical Baptism, which is no less than to say, in other Words, that the Law-giver himself, (the Blessed Jesus) and the Church too, would own it for their Baptism?

Thirdly, Did S. Peter and S. John go to Samaria, to perform a Ministerial Office which Philip could have done without them?

Fourthly, Could S. Cyprian say, they continued the same Practice in his Time, and yet the Baptizing Ministers then, either did, or could as

effectually lay their Hands on such as they baptiz'd for conveying the Graces of the Holy Spirit on them, as *those very Governors* of the Church, to whom he affirms they were presented to receive that solemn Benediction, after the Manner it was done at *Samarina*?

Fifthly, and Lastly, Since Presbyters, as well as Deacons, did unquestionably baptize in S. Cyprian's Time, and in his Church; what could the Catholick Church itself, or the Holy Martyr mean, by such a general Custom of offering Baptiz'd Persons to the *Governors* of the Church upon this Occasion? (*such Governors*, I mean, as S. Cyprian himself was, for so he explains his Meaning, when he calls it, *Our Prayer and Imposition of Hands*, by which they were to obtain such Spiritual Gifts, and be consummated with the *Seal of the Lord*) What could they mean (I say) if *any* who had the Power of Baptizing, by vertue of their Orders, might have done that as well? Or how could the Parallel hold indeed in the whole Comparifon, if such *propofiti* or Governors of the Church in S. Cyprian's Time bore no Analogy of Difference from the Baptizing Ministers, to that which was between S. Philip and the Apostles, from whence the Precedent (he assures us) was immediately taken?

I can conceive no Answer to these Questions, sufficient to remove the evident Truth contain'd in the Holy Martyr's Words; namely, that there was a Sacred Ministerial Rite then practised in the Church, after Baptism, and distinct from it; Impofition of Hands and Prayers the principal and constant Symbols of it; the Rite and Power of Adminiftring it not inherent in the

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the Powers or Orders of any Baptizing Ministers, (as such) but peculiar to the highest Order in the Church; as the Apostles unquestionably were in this original Pattern at *Samaria*; and consequently, in our Holy Martyr's Sense of the Thing, (who allow'd the Bishops only for peculiar Successors to the Apostles in the Church) was appropriated to them alone.

The Misapprehension of this Testimony of S. Cyprian, and of the Primitive Church with him, (I perceive by our learned Enquirer, *Daille*, and others) lies here; they distinguish not the Operations and Gifts of the Holy Ghost in the two sacred Rites of Baptism, and Imposition of Hands after it, as those Primitive Fathers did: The Fathers affirm, that the Holy Spirit was present, operated, and effectually sanctify'd both the Elemental Water, and the Person baptiz'd in it, before this Imposition of Hands upon him; and therefore S. Cyprian himself calls a Baptized Person, on whom Hands had not yet been laid, * a sanctify'd Person, spiritually form'd into a new Man; one that has put on Christ, and that Christ can't be put on without the Spirit: And yet, in reference to the Imposition of Hands, which was to follow, he accounted him only fitted for receiving the Holy Spirit, which was farther to be infused into him. The Reason was this, that

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* Qui peccatis in baptismo expositis sanctificatus est, & in novum hominem spiritualiter formatus, ad accipiendum Spiritum sanctum idoneus factus est. — Quotquot in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis — quasi possit sine spiritu Christus indui, &c. *Cypr. Ep. ad Pomp. n. 74. p. 213. Edit. Oxon.*

forasmuch as the Spirit was given by *Measure* to all Men, except the Blessed Jesus alone, they understood, that the Sanctification of the Spirit in the *Holy Laver* did principally (if not wholly) consist in purging away all Sin, in forming the new Creature, (as the Quotations above imply) and making the Baptiz'd Person a * *Temple of God*, fit to receive all other Gifts and Graces of the Holy Ghost, which Christ promised to his Church; but that these manifold Gifts, and the respective Measure of them, (according as every Christian should stand in need of them) were to be communicated to them by the several Ordinances and Ministrations of *the Church*, as *S. Paul* says, that *the Ministry of Reconciliation with God was committed to them.* (2 Cor. v. 18.) And the first Solemn Ministerial Act of the Church, by which She dispensed such Divine Grace to all her Children, (after they were brought forth from her Womb by their perfect New-birth in the Holy Sacrament of Baptism) was this *Imposition of Hands with Prayer for them*, as the Holy Eucharist, soon after, was an Addition to both. And accordingly, *S. Cyprian*, with above thirty more in Council with him, in their Answer to the Synodical Epistle of the Bishops of *Numidia* about Heretical Baptism, in a separate and distinct Manner, tells those Prelates, that Hereticks could administer none of those three Holy Rites or Ordinances for want of having the Spirit amongst them: And, 1st, not Baptism, because the Spirit was necessary there to
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* Templum Dei fieri. *ib.*

sanctify the Water for washing away of Sin. And having clear'd that in three Paragraphs, then in the fourth they farther add, † *Neither can Spiritual Unction be amongst Hereticks, nor yet the Eucharist; because they can't sanctify the Creature of Oil, or can an Eucharist be made by them; distinguishing plainly the three Holy Ministrations, and ascribing the Grace of the Holy Spirit differently to each of them; insomuch as, in the Close of that Epistle, they plainly intimate each of them to be different Sacraments of the Church, (as they used that Word then in a larger Sense than we do now.) For, having prov'd that Hereticks could administer none of them, they conclude in these Words: We therefore who are with the Lord, and hold the Unity of the Lord, || ought to give the Truth of Unity and Faith to as many as return by all the Sacraments of Divine Grace; which looks very little like making any one of the Three a meer Part, or Appendix, of either of the other, no more than Vincentius a Thibari's Suffrage does in the Council under S. Cyprian; where, speaking of the Manner of receiving penitent Hereticks, he prescribes this*
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† *Cypr. Ep. 70. § 1. Neminem foris extra Ecclesiam baptizari posse. — Oportet mundari & sanctificari aquam prius à sacerdote, ut possit baptismo suo peccata hominis, qui baptizatur, abluere. Ib. § 4. Nec unctio spiritualis apud hæreticos potest esse, quando constet oleum sanctificari & Eucharistiam fieri apud illos omnino non posse.*

|| *Dare illis per omnia divina gratiæ sacramenta unitatis & fidei veritatem — debemus. Ib. § ult.*

threefold Means for it; * 1st, By Imposition of Hands in Exorcism. 2dly, By Regeneration of Baptism; and then (says he) they may come to the Pollicitation of Christ, a noted Phrase for this Conferring of the Gifts of the Spirit by Imposition of Hands, because it was grounded upon that faithful Promise of our Lord, *That such as believed in him, should have Rivers of Living Water* [meaning of the Spirit of God] *flowing out of them*: Which accordingly was made good by those *miraculous and saving Graces* together, conferr'd upon the first Disciples by this Holy Rite of the Apostolical Imposition of Hands; the Miraculous ones Temporary, the other believ'd to be Perpetual, in the Judgment and Practice of the Primitive Church, wherein we find the Successors of those Apostles (as the Bishops were own'd to be in the Government of the Church) continuing that sacred Rite amongst them for *infusing* the Holy Spirit into every baptized Christian, as S. Cyprian's express Words are, in the manifest Account he gives us of this whole Matter, which I have cited to you but now.

This is that which was *still wanting* then (after S. Stephen's perfect Baptism) to the Disciples at *Samarina*, according to the Apostles own Practice, and that of the Primitive Church after them. And for want of this Observation of the Gifts of the Spirit being gradually dispensed by the Ministrations of the Church, according to the

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* Primo, per manûs impositionem in exorcismo; secundo, per baptismi regenerationem; & tunc possunt ad Christi pollicitationem venire, alias autem fieri censeo non debere. *Conc. Carthag. Suffr. 37. in Op. Cypr.*

Occasions and Capacities of all Men, (which I take to be the Foundation of the Institution of any Ordinances, or holy Rites in the Church) our learned Enquirer and his Friends, wherever they met with any such Expressions as these, *That the Water without the Spirit could not sanctify,* and that, *by Imposition of Hands the Spirit was given to baptized Persons,* and the like; (which are frequent in S. Cyprian and other Fathers too) they inferred, that naked Baptism had nothing of the Spirit in it, in those holy Fathers Sense of it; and therefore *Imposition of Hands* was added to make that perfect; which is an absolute Mistake: And by that Means, the Thing which S. Cyprian here mention'd, as yet wanting, is constantly perverted, and made to signify what he never meant by it; for they all affirm'd, and held for certain, that the blessed Spirit was present, and operated powerfully in both of them, in such Proportion as was needful to make each of them effectual to the great Ends for which they were first instituted; the one to perfect the new Birth, the other to sustain the future Infirmities of the Person who was so born. This latter (in respect to the Nature, Effects, or Ceremonies used in it) they sometimes call'd the *Seal of the Lord*, the *Pollicitation*, or *Promise of the Lord*, the *Holy Chrism*, or *Unction*, (in a singular and eminent Manner distinct from any other) the *invoking and infusing of the Spirit* into Persons fitted for it; *Imposition of Hands by the Governors of the Church*, and the like: And this is what our Church declares she understands by the solemn Rite of *Confirmation*, both in her Liturgy

* Liturgy and Canons. This the Baptizing Evangelist and Deacon at *Samaria* could not do: This, no less Officers in the Church than the blessed Apostles, *S. Peter* and *S. John*, went on purpose from *Jerusalem* to do: This, *S. Cyprian* expressly tells us, such *Præpositi*, or Rulers of the Church, as he himself was, did constantly perform in his Time, let the Baptizing Minister be whom they would, provided they were not Bishops themselves; and therefore I can do no less, than own my Conviction from such Evidence as this, that Presbyters (as distinguish'd from Bishops ever since that Distinction made, which is from the very Close of the Apostolical Age) could not confirm.

'Tis true, our Enquirer strengthens this Argument (taken from his Notion of Confirmation being a meer Part of Baptism) with that Paradox in Primitive Discipline, that it was the very same thing with *Absolution of Penitents* also; which is as much as to say, that the new baptiz'd Person is even just now cleans'd and purg'd from all his Sin; [for Baptism before Imposition of Hands, the † Enquirer himself says, does that, as indeed all Antiquity says so with him] and at the same Instant (as it were) he makes this cleansed and purified Soul enter into the forlorn Class of *Penitents*, as one who wants immediate *Absolution* to reconcile him to God and the Church. Such Harmony Mistakes will make, if we listen to them; but I am apt to think they will

* See Order of Confirmation, and the Collects there. Also Can. 60. Edit. A. D. 1603.

† See Enq. Part 2. p. 86.

will sound so harsh to most Christians Ears, that I shall proceed no farther on this Subject.

I have done then with the first general Proof offered for Presbyters Equality with their Bishops, in respect to Orders; namely, that they discharg'd all Offices which their Bishops did, by his Leave and Permission for it; and therefore their *Orders Equal*.

And, by what has been said, I conceive three Things may appear :

First, That they neither did, nor could discharge all, even with such Permission for it; and particularly as to *Ordination* and *Confirmation*.

2dly, That several of the Ministerial Offices, so discharged by them, did not imply, that their Orders alone qualify'd them for it; and particularly as to *Excommunications* and *Absolutions*; else the Deacons Orders might claim the like Character too.

Thirdly and lastly, That a bare Capacity (if it were inherent in them) to discharge such Offices by a lawful Superior's Permission, so long as they were not impower'd actually to do it of themselves, does imply an Inferiority of Order in the very Nature of the Thing itself.

If every one of the Clerical Acts here specify'd by the Enquirer, and which we have been considering so long, do still appear to be inherent in his Presbyters, by vertue of their Orders alone, then his ingenious and triumphant Comparison may pass, that, as a Man who can truly be said to have *all his Senses*, must of Necessity be allow'd to see; so Presbyters, who can do all that a Bishop could do, may be own'd

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(as to all these Clerical Capacities) to have receiv'd an Episcopal Character in their Ordination: But if there be any Act or Acts amongst them, which, by the Evidence we have here produc'd, they neither did, or could do, in the Practice or Judgment of the Primitive Church; then, tho' we own them to be as perfect in their kind, as any Order of Reverend Ministers which the Church is happy in, yet they will as certainly want something to complete their *Episcopal Character and Order*, as a blind or deaf Man (pardon the Comparison the Enquirer has framed for me) does want something to perfect all his Senses. I leave the Evidence to clear the Case.

In the mean time, I think 'tis plain, that Presbyters were invested with important Trusts in the Church; partly as the *Bishops Curates* (to use the Enquirer's proper Phrase) in such Portions of his general Ministerial Charge, as he should commit to them; and this their Orders alone qualify'd them for; and partly, as *proper and usual Delegates* to execute some extraordinary Parts of the peculiar Episcopal Power, by his Authority and Commission for it: These things sufficiently requir'd that they should be
** upright, merciful, sincere Persons, impartial in Judgment of Men and Things, not hastily receiving Reports, or rigid in judging of any,* which I take Occasion to mention here, because S. Polycarp giving such Advice as this to Presbyters; (in his Epistle

* See Polycarp's Ep. ad. Philip. §. 5. ad finem vit. Polycarp. in Dr. Cave.

Epistle to the Church at *Philippi*) our learned † Author inferr'd from it, that it must needs imply no less than a *Ruling Power* in them, of the like Nature with that of the Bishops themselves, for so his Argument requir'd : Whereas their Charge, I think, is great enough to stand in need of such Apostolical Counsel to them, without setting them on the Level with their Bishops, if we have no better Proof for it than so.

I come now to the second general Proof, which is this ; * *That Presbyters were originally call'd by the same Titles and Appellations as the Bishops themselves, and therefore their Order equal.* I must desire the Reader to see what has been said to this ; at the Close of the first Chapter, Pag. 21, &c. and in this Chapter Pag. 182. And yet because the promiscuous and indifferent Use of these Titles in the New Testament, and to the end of the Apostolical Age, occasions some Amusement to particular Men, I shall farther offer such a short Account of that Matter, as is visible in holy Scripture, and the earliest Writers of the Church together.

The Scriptures teach us, that when the Apostles had founded Churches, they ordain'd Elders for each of them ; entrusted those Elders to administer the Word and Sacraments amongst them, or (to use *S. Paul's* Words to the Elders at *Miletus*) to take care to themselves and all the Flock, over which the Holy Ghost (by Orders and Commission from the Apostles Hands to be sure) had made them *Overseers*, which

† See Enq. p. 59.

* Enq. p. 64.

which in our Translation is render'd *Bishops* now; and to feed the Church of God, as good Shepherds ought to do. The Titles, doubtless, suited with the Charge and Ministry they were entrusted withall; and as they were Ecclesiastical Officers, and commonly not Novices in Years besides, they were as properly call'd (in the ancient Language of the Synagogue) *Presbyters of the Church* too; and accordingly we find both these Titles indifferently apply'd to them then. Yet all this while, nothing is plainer in Scripture, than that the Apostles reserv'd to themselves the Prerogative of a Ruling Power over them, kept a Rod of Discipline in their own Hands; § censur'd such as deserv'd it; || deliver'd unto Satan the Disorderly amongst them, that is, Excommunicated their Members; † expected whole Churches to be obedient to them in all things: In short, had the Sovereign * Cure of all the Churches in their own Hands; moreover all the Elders we read of, ‡ who were ordain'd in any Church, (before Timothy and Titus's special Commissions, which I shall take Notice of by and by) had the Apostles Hands laid upon them; and no Confirmation, or giving of the Spirit by Imposition of Hands mention'd throughout the New Testament, but by the Apostles alone. This great Prerogative of Power, then, the Apostles retain'd still; and

§ 1 Cor. iv. 21.

|| Ib. v. 3.

† 1 Tim. i. 20.

* 2 Cor. ii. 9.

‡ 2 Cor. xi. 28.

and no specious Titles of *Presidents, Governors, Bishops, Pastors*, or the like, * attributed to the Presbyters or Elders under them in the New Testament, lessen'd it in the least, or brought it into question: Their superiour Character amongst them was own'd by all. So that during their Lives or Personal Government over them, those Titles might safely and properly enough be promiscuously used for any of their subordinate Ministers, whereof they ordain'd many (as our || Enquirer believes) in particular Churches.

But before the Apostles died, or when Providence † remov'd them from a Personal Visitation of their several Churches in this or the other Province, we read in the earliest Records of the Church, that they ordain'd many single Persons (taken Notice of without any Fellow-Presbyters besides) over large Cities and Churches, as our Enquirer * observes from *Tertullian*, that *S. John placed Polycarp in the Church of Smyrna*, and *S. Peter ordain'd Clement for the Church of Rome*; and *Tertullian* adds, that † the rest of the Churches could prove their Bishops to be derived from the Apostles in the same Manner, and calls those Episcopal Sees, the *Apostles Chairs*

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* Πρεσβυτέρους, 1 Thes. v. 12. Ἡγούμενοι, Heb. xiii. 17. Ἐπίσκοποι, Act. xx. 28.

|| See Enq. p. 78.

† Rom. xv. 23.

* Enq. p. 11.

† Perinde utiq; & cæteræ exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos Apostolici seminis traduces habeant. *Tertul. de præscript.* p. 243. Edit. secunda, Rigalt. Lutet. 1641.

Chairs in the next Leaf; as § Irenæus (you may remember) told us before, that the Apostles deliver'd the Church to those single Bishops, and their *Locus Magisterii*, or Place of Government with them; and the Scripture tells us plainly enough, that Timothy was ordain'd such a singular Ecclesiastical Governor for Ephesus, where there were * many Presbyters before, and Titus for Crete; for 'tis plain, they had a special Commission to ordain Elders, [1 Tim. iii. 15. 2 Tim. ii. 2. Tit. i. 5.] to rebuke and censure them as well as others, [1 Tim. v. 19.] and that with all Authority [Tit. ii. 15.] to judge of Doctrine, and reject Hereticks; in a word, to set in Order the Things which were wanting, [Tit. i. 5.] the very Claim of Apostolical Power in S. Paul's express Words for it; [1 Cor. xi. 34.] and all this so Personal a Charge, that the Apostle conjur'd Timothy (and no others with him) before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect Angels, that he observ'd these Things without Partiality; [1 Tim. v. 21.] and as a special Reason for his investing him with all this Fulness of Power now, and for enjoining him so strictly to watch and make a full Proof of this his Ministry, he concludes thus: For I am ready to be offer'd, (says he) and the Time of my Departure is at hand; [2 Tim. iv. 5.] as if he had farther said, And now this former Care of mine must be yours.

'Tis manifest, I think, from hence, that these singular Presidents of the several Churches had
undry

§ Iren. 1. 3. c. 3.

* See Bishop Pearson's Proof of the Time when Timothy was left at Ephesus.

undry Parts of the Apostles *reserv'd Sovereign Power* conferr'd upon them; never imparted to Presbyters of any Denomination before, as far as Scripture and Primitive Antiquity can inform us: These Consecrated Presidents then take Possession of the Churches assigned to them, either by the Apostles Personal Induction of them, (as the Case of many of them was) or with their full Credentials to be sure. In all, or most of those great Churches which this Apostolical Institution had allotted for them, they must find Presbyters ministring at that Time, in such Capacity as they all along had done with entire Subordination to the Apostles Supremacy over them. These Ministring Presbyters then, together with the whole Church, receiving such new-commission'd Presidents amongst them, must manifestly see by those *reserv'd Apostolical Powers*, of *Ruling, Ordination, Censure*, and the like, (express'd in *Timothy* and *Titus's* Commissions to the full, and, no doubt of it, signify'd sufficiently to every Church by the Apostles themselves, who thus placed them there) that they had an authentick and unquestionable Right of Succeeding in the ordinary Jurisdiction and Prerogatives of their *Departing Apostle* over them.

This is a plain and natural Reason, why the first Order of Ecclesiasticks in the Primitive Church were so familiarly call'd the *Apostles Successors*, and perhaps it would be very hard to assign any other: No wonder then, if such apparent Successors in that Eminency of Ecclesiastical Power as these were, should be thought worthy of a distinct and singular Title from all
P 2 others,

others, as the Apostles had before them ; and that the Catholick Church did accordingly agree it should be so. The Title of *Apostle*, indeed, was not thought unsuitable to them by many of the Primitive * Writers : *Tertullian* (as we heard just now) calls them, *The Offspring of the Apostolick Seed*. But in a holy Reverence to the blessed Twelve, and of the miraculous Gifts in them, the Primitive Church (tho' those very Persons themselves presided in it) declin'd the Venerable Title of *Apostles* for them ; but amongst the several Appellations, common to many Ecclesiastical Officers before, they so appropriated that of *Bishop* to them, that *S. Ignatius* declares at the very † Close of the Apostolick Age, every *Christian Church*, to the very utmost Bounds of all, had a Supreme Governor of that singular and peculiar Name, by which he was then known.

Thus I have briefly shewn, how the Names of *Presbyter* and *Bishop* were indifferently used at first ; and no Danger of misunderstanding about it, so long as it continued so, that is, throughout the Apostolick Age ; and yet, how great Occasion was given afterwards for appropriating one of them to the Supreme Governors of the Church, whose peculiar Character and Powers requir'd no less ? and accordingly we find it has been so from that very time to this.

Had

* 'Ο ὁπός οἱ Κλήμης, says Clemens Alex. speaking of Clemens Bishop of Rome. Stromat. lib. 4. p. 516. Cologn. 1688. See Blondel's Quotations of several such Instances in his *Apol.* p. 85.

† Ἐπίσκοποι οἱ καὶ τὰ πρεσβυτέρους ἐκείνους ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ γνωμὴ εἶσιν. Ep. ad Polycarp. § 3.

Had our learned Enquirer therefore prov'd his
 Presbyter to be indifferently styled a *Bishop* still,
 after this Epoch of Time we are here speaking
 of, in the familiar Language of the Church, he
 had done more for him than all his Collection of
 Equivocal Titles besides can amount to; for one
 incommunicable Title to denote a superiour Or-
 der by, is as much as the highest Orders of Men
 in all humane Society ordinarily have, whilst
 they have Variety of inferiour ones besides, com-
 mon to others with themselves; and here I leave
 the Argument so mightily * triumph'd in by our
 ingenious Author from this *Identity of Names*.

But the reserv'd Forces are still behind, and
 are to do all at last; for † if *this second Reason*
be not thought cogent enough, (says our learned
 Enquirer) yet the third and last will unquestionably
 put all out of doubt, and clearly evince the *Sameness*
of Bishops and Presbyters, as to Order.

The Demonstration is this; It is expressly said
 by the Ancients, (says he) that there were but two
 distinct Ecclesiastical Orders, *Bishops and Deacons*,
 or Presbyters and Deacons, therefore Presbyters can't
 be distinct from Bishops, for then there would be
 three.

The Venerable *Clemens Romanus* is brought to
 prove this, for he says || that in Countries and
 Cities where the Apostles preach'd, they ordain'd their
 first Converts for Bishops and Deacons over those who

P 3

should

* See Enq. p. 67, 68.

† Enq. Ib. p. 68.

|| Κατὰ χώρας ἐν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς
 ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἢ μελῶν
 τῶν πιστεύειν. Clem. Ep. 1. ad Corinth. p. 54.

should believe. The Apostles it seems then, in their Course of planting the Churches, ordain'd but two Orders to take care of them: In the mean time, what were the *Ordainers themselves*? Were they of no Order in the Church, or were they of the same Order with either of the two they ordain'd? If neither one nor t'other be so; then in their time there were three Orders, 'tis plain; and how they continued so, both *from* and after them, without *splitting* any of the two, (which our Enquirer * fears we do) I think may appear from what I have said already. The Apostles had a reserv'd Power, (we have seen from holy Scripture itself) both of Government in general, and in special Ministerial or Clerical Acts besides, which they did not impart to all the Presbyters or Bishops they at first ordain'd for the Churches: If any Time could be assign'd therefore, or any general Grant produc'd, when or whereby it might appear, that they conferr'd or bequeath'd those reserv'd Powers (so necessary to the Church for ever) to *All* the Presbyters they ever ordain'd in it; 'tis but a modest Question to ask, in what Text of Scripture, or in what Record of the Church, is such an important Grant to be found? If no such Evidence is to be, as I think the ablest Advocates for them have produc'd none; then the Grants I have mention'd and prov'd above to particular Presidents over many Churches, by their own *Act* and *Deed*, even where other Bishops or Presbyters were before, (as they were indifferently

rently call'd till then) does infer such an evident Translation of their own Third Order, with the reserv'd Acts all along peculiar to it, to those particular Presidents and the whole Succession of them, as, I think, no Ministers in the Church besides have any Shadow of a Charter like it to produce for themselves. For, to say, the Apostles had no Successors to any ordinary and permanent Prerogatives of theirs, is to contradict all Antiquity bare-fac'd; and 'tis plainly no less, to say, the Primitive Fathers own'd any Ministers in the Church to be such, besides those they peculiarly call'd Bishops after them; and therefore their reserv'd ordinary Powers of Government, Ordination, Confirmation, Censure, and the rest, did continue their third Order in the Church, in those Episcopal Successors of theirs: And what *S. Clemens* says, is far from being inconsistent with this; for when he tells us, the Apostles ordain'd Bishops and Deacons, or Presbyters and Deacons, to take care of the respective Flocks, which either were or should be farther provided for them; he very well knew the Apostles who ordain'd them were a superiour Order to them; and therefore his Words have no respect to the Number of Orders in the Church, for which they are here produc'd; nor indeed did the Argument he was upon require they should; his only Business was to awe the mutinous *Corinthians* from rebelling against the Presbyters of the Church, because they were of Apostolical Institution, and upon that Account as much of God's Appointment, as the Tribe of *Levi* were for the Sacred Ministry of the Jewish Church, which is therefore so particularly

P 4

larly described in all the Orders and Offices of it, and so * closely apply'd to the Christian Dispensation immediately upon it, that an impartial Reader would rather infer, that three Orders might rationally be concluded, as well in one as t'other, than imagine that *Clemens* had the least Thought of no more than two Orders in either.

Especially, if two Things be consider'd. *First*, that *Clemens* himself, who wrote this, was undoubtedly such a single Successor, as we have been speaking of, set over all other Ecclesiasticks in the Church of *Rome*. And, *Secondly*, That the Presbyters here insulted at *Corinth*, were many in Number in that single Church alone, who could not therefore be of the same Kind (or Order, as I have shewn) with *Polycarp* or *Clemens* himself, whereof that there was but one only in a Church, is too noted a Truth, to need any Proof of it.

One Word to our Enquirer's closing *Dilemma* here, and I'll proceed: *To what end* (says he) should *Clemens* exhort the Schismatical *Corinthians* to obey their Presbyters, from the Consideration of the Apostles Ordination of Bishops, if their Presbyters had not been Bishops? I answer to a very Good end, because the two Names were indifferently

used

* Τῷ Ἰδίῳ ἀρχιερεὶ ἰδίαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναί εἰσι· καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἰδίῃ ὁ πόσις προσέτακται καὶ λεύεται ἰδίαι διακονίαι ἐπικενταῖ· ὁ λαϊκὸς ἀνθρώπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προσάγμασιν δέδεσθαι. "Εκαστὸς ἑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι ἐνχαρισέτω Θεῷ ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνείδησει, μὴ παρεκβαίνων τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ καὶ λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα ἐν σεμνότητι. Clem. Ep. ad Cor. i. p. 53: Edit. Patr. Junii, Oxon. 1633.

used so long as *Clement* lived, and without any Influence upon the far different Powers inherent in one of them, when the Name of *Bishop* came to be appropriated to him, which * our Enquirer imputes to *S. Ignatius* as the first Author of it, and places it in the Beginning of the Second Century; and that was not before, but indeed very soon after the Martyrdom of *Clemens*, which the † Church Chronology places in the last Year of Century the First.

Irenaus is || quoted next, to strengthen this Evidence of *Clemens Romanus*, for two Orders only in the Church.

The Force of his Authority, from one end to t'other, lies in this single Point, that he calls *Bishops* by the Name of *Presbyters*, and (which need not be wonder'd at after that) he calls their Orders, the *Orders of a Presbyter* too.

This Language our learned Enquirer (I doubt not) will readily own is very rare in *Irenaus's* Time, and in his own Works too; but there's little to be gather'd from it, to the Purpose it is brought for here, if we consider these few things.

First, The Caution this venerable Bishop us'd, to let us know who he meant. In the Entrance of the Discourse he describes them thus: * *You must*

* *Enq.* p. 65.

† See *Cave's Chron. Tables of the three first Centuries.*

|| *Enq.* p. 71.

* *Eis qui in Ecclesia sint presbyteris obaudire oportet. His qui successionem habent ab Apostolis, sicut ostendimus, qui cum Episcopatus successionem charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum patris acceperunt. Iren.*

p. 4. c. 43. p. 382. Edit. Lutet. Paris 1675.

must obey the Presbyters of the Church; those (I mean) who have a Succession from the Apostles, as I shew'd you before, who with the Succession of their Episcopacy, have the sure Gift of Truth according to the good Pleasure of the Father.

Now what *Irenaeus* shew'd us before, was this, We can reckon up to you [says he, l. 3. c. 3.] those who were instituted Bishops in the Churches by the Apostles themselves, — to whom they committed the very Churches themselves also; — left them their Successors, delivering up to them their own proper Place of Mastership or Prerogative in them.

The Persons here meant, are clearly enough describ'd we see, and the Enquirer agrees with us, that they were Bishops in the Sense of the Church at that time; but he did not like to give us this special Evidence, which *Irenaeus* himself does, of their being so, because it contains such broad Marks of more than ordinary Prerogatives, conferr'd by the Apostles upon this Order of Men, above the common Presbyters in the Church, by appointing them their peculiar Successors over it, and delivering up the whole Church itself to their single Care alone, as, thro' the Singularity of their Commission and Powers, would look a little like another Order from the rest; and therefore he would not begin his Quotation here, but in general tells us, that they were surely Bishops, which *Irenaeus* was speaking of, and then, from three lesser Circumstances in the Account of them, would assure us, they were of no higher an Order than any common Presbyters were.

the Primitive Church, &c. 219

The first Circumstance was this, that *they* were called by the Name of *Presbyter*, as well as the others.

To which I answer, that it very well might be so, and not the least Proof of an *equal Order* in that: The Argument from Names (as I am forced to observe again) does not lie here; for tho' the Name of *Presbyter* ~~did by degrees be-~~ come the peculiar Title of the *second Order* in the Church, upon occasion of the Name of *Bishop* being solely appropriated to the *first*; yet that was not a necessary Consequence of it, nor the immediate Business of the Church to make it so; 'twas but one Ecclesiastical Officer only, and that the *Chief of all*, who came with such extraordinary Commission from the Apostles to preside over them, (as I have shewn you before) which they wanted a peculiar and distinguishing Title for; and accordingly fix'd that of *Bishop* upon him. So that the Name of *Presbyter*, which had been common to all the Ministers of the Church before, even up to the highest Order of the Apostles themselves, and had been a Term of Dignity and Honour in the Church of God among the *Jews*, by long Prescription there; and in respect to the *venerable Age*, which it naturally signify'd, might by any Father of the Church be attributed to a Bishop still, especially if they fix'd such a Note of Discrimination upon it, as *Irenaeus* does here; and no Fear of Derogation to the Bishop's Character in it, and much less of levelling him to the lowest Order that should be call'd by that Name. A Bishop therefore might be call'd a *Presbyter* then, tho' 'twas rarely so, and but for a short time, but a *Presbyter* (as distin-

220 *An Original Draught of*

stinguish'd from him, since the Apostolical Age expir'd) had the Name of Bishop no longer attributed to him in the Language of the Catholick Church.

Since *Irenaus's* Bishops, then, were still the same as their Predecessors were, which the Apostles constituted at the first, and such as the Church then own'd for *Bishops*, notwithstanding the Name of *Presbyter* was apply'd to them; What farther Lessening of them could it be, to express *their Order*, by an *Order* of the same Name too? Which is the second Circumstance in *Irenaus's* Words, that our learned Author so mightily insists upon? Such as the Persons were, such was their Order to be sure: If these Presbyters, then, by Name, were genuine Bishops in the Nature and Character of them; it follows, that the Order of Presbyter, as apply'd to them, was such a Bishop's Order also: 'Tis hard, I know, to allow of any other possible Notion, either of Words or Things, where Time immemorial has fasten'd one before; and therefore the Phrase of *Presbyter's Order*, to Men in our Age, can scarce ever be thought in any Author to signify more or less than just what we understand by it now: But if Things may take Place instead of Words and Sounds with us, I think it is clear in this Quotation, that the *Orders of a Presbyter* here spoken of, are such as the Apostles proper Successors had in the Sense and Practice of the Primitive Church. *Irenaus* declares himself to speak of such, and I have shewn what Prerogatives such Presbyters originally had, not only of *Ruling Power*, but of several *Clerical Acts* too,
not

not common to all the rest; and our Enquirer himself assures us, that a Presbyter promoted to such a Bishop's Chair, was first to receive *Imposition of Hands* from all the Provincial Bishops, in the Age *Irenæus* liv'd in. Now such singular Acts of Ecclesiastical Power conferr'd upon a common Presbyter, (who had them not before) and by such a solemn Apostolical Rite as that was, which the Ancients call'd *Ordination*, in as plain and express Terms, as they did in the Act of Ordaining Presbyters or Deacons; This, I own, is what I understand by the Bishop's Supreme Order in the Church; and *Irenæus*, as his Language all along imports, meant nothing less by it here, tho' the Name of Presbyter (which in several respects suited every Order in the Church) was peculiarly affix'd to him.

And as to the Text of *Isaiah*, lx. 17. apply'd here, as it was in *Clemens Romanus* before, I shall remark only thus much; that * *Clemens's* old Translation of the Place answer'd his own Language about the Apostles ordaining *Bishops* and *Deacons* in the Church; for so his *Greek Bible* (it seems) had render'd it in the Copies of his Time, and by that Authority he made the Names to be awful and venerable to the *Corinthians*, as he was endeavouring to do. But *Irenæus* here, who was speaking of Supreme Pres-

* *Clemens's Copy* render'd, *Isa. lx. 17. thus.* Κατα-
 στήσω τὸν ἐπισκόπον αὐτοῦ εἰς δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τὸν δια-
 κόνον αὐτοῦ ἐν πίστει.

† *Irenæus used the LXX. which renders it thus.* Δώσω
 τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον σε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ τὸν ἐπισκόπον σε ἐν δι-
 καιοσύνῃ.

Presbyters only, apply'd the Text, as it is in our present Translation of the †LXX. whereby they are render'd by the Names of *Princes* and *Bishops*; so that both Words answer'd the Argument he was upon, which was to enjoin Obedience to the true Supreme Governors of any one Catholick Church; and neither in one Place nor t'other, does it any ways prove, that either of the Fathers understood but two Orders only in the Church; as I conceive may now appear by what I have observ'd from them.

Clemens Alexandrinus (as the last Evidence) is to clear all; two Passages to that Purpose are quoted from him: I'll shew the Occasion of both, that we may judge the better what the Holy Father probably meant by them.

Clemens was setting forth the utmost Advancement of a perfect Christian under the Title of a complete and true *Gnostick*. † He represents him as Master of all his Passions, and then improving in good Works till he becomes equal to an Angel here; and being bright and shining as the Sun, hastens on thro' his righteous Knowledge, and the Love of God, to a Holy Mansion, as the Apostles did before him: And, on this Occasion, tells us farther, that * every one who exercis'd himself in the Com-

mand-

† Μελειοπαθήσας τὰ πρῶτα καὶ εἰς ἀπάθειαν μελετήσας, αὐξήσας τε εἰς εὐποιαν Γνωστικῆς τελειότητος εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ. Φωτεινὸς δὲ ὥς ἡδὴ καὶ ὡς ἡλιου λαμπρῶν — σπεύδει ἐπὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ μονῇ, καθάπερ οἱ ἀποστολοι. Edit. Oxon. Strom. l. 6. p. 792.

* Εἴστιν ἔν καὶ νῦν ταῖς Κυριακαῖς ἐνασκήσαντας ταῖς ἐντολαῖς, καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τελείως βιωσάντας καὶ Γνωστικῶς, εἰς τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῇ ἀποστόλων ἐγγραφῆναι.
— P. 793.

mandments of the Lord, and liv'd as a perfect Gnostick according to the Gospel, might be admitted into the Apostolick Roll; that is, undoubtedly, in his Seraphick Sense of it, be as fair a Candidate for Perfection of Happiness hereafter, as an Apostle himself could be, if he was equal to him in Gnostick Wisdom and Holiness here; Characters and Orders of Men, from the highest to the lowest of them in the Church, (in this View of them) making but little Difference in the Case. And to explain himself farther in the Point, he goes on in these Words; (which our Enquirer quotes for his Use) *he is a Presbyter in the Church indeed, (says he) * and a true Deacon of the Will of God, if he does, and teaches, the Things of the Lord; not ordain'd of Men, or therefore thought a righteous Person, because made a Presbyter, but because Righteous, therefore chosen into that Presbytery; and although he be not honour'd with the First Seat here on Earth, yet shall hereafter sit down on the twenty four Thrones, judging the People, as S. John says in the Revelations.* The Sense of this whole Speculation, I think, appears plainly to be this; that, in respect of true intrinsick Excellency here, and of a Title to perfect Bliss and Happiness hereafter, neither Apostle, Presbyter,

* Οὗτος πρεσβύτερος ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ διάκονος ἀληθῆς τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ βασιλείᾳ, εἰάν ποιῇ καὶ διάσκη τὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἐκ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων χειροτονούμενος, ἰδὲ ὅτι πρεσβύτερος, δίκαιος νομιζόμενος, ἀλλ' ὅτι δίκαιος ἐν πρεσβυτερίᾳ καὶ ἀλεγομένη. καὶ ἐψηάθη ὅτι γῆς πρωτοκαθεδεῖα μὴ τιμηθῇ ἐν ταῖς αἰκοῖς καὶ τέταρτοι καθεδεῖαι θρόνοις, τὴν λαὸν κείμεν, ὡς φησὶν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει Ἰωάννης. Ibid.

byter, Deacon or Layman, have any great Advantage of one another, by any outward Character, Title, or Difference of Order they may have below, but purely as they excell one another in Christian Vertue, Divine Knowledge, Wisdom and Goodness; and so are more perfect *Christian Gnosticks* than the rest: And therefore if a Presbyter (in particular) be such a qualified Saint as this, tho' he be not honour'd with the *First Seat* here; that is, (says he) with as high a Seat as any I have nam'd to you now, which, in plain Connexion with the whole Argument, is with an *Apostolical Chair* in the Church, (for an Apostle was one of the Orders, in his Comparison, amongst the rest) yet he shall sit in the twenty four Thrones, judging the People, as *S. John* speaks in the *Revelation*; as if he had directly said, tho' he may not sit in a Bishop's Place, (whose See *Tertullian*, cotemporary with *Clemens*, calls an *Apostolical Chair*; and the Church of that Age, I have prov'd above, acknowledg'd Bishops to be their proper Successors yet he shall sit (says *S. Clemens*) at the Last Day, among the chiefest Saints, to judge the World with Christ; and how the Mentioning of a First Chair of a Presbytery, in the Sense wherein this Holy Father names it here, should imply, that every Presbyter who sat in the Presbytery also, should be of equal Order with him who sat the first and highest in it, by this Evidence of *Clemens* for it, I leave now to the Reader's Judgment on the Place.

But this venerable Father affords our Enquirer a farther Testimony for his Cause; which tho' some

some Men think (as he † observes himself) to be more against him, than for him; yet he roundly affirms, 'tis evidently on his side. Clemens mentions (says he) Advancements (or *Processess*, as he renders them) of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons: But || *these are evidently meant* (says our discerning Author) *only of Degree*, and there are but two Orders between them all: For Clemens immediately adds (says he) * that those Offices are an Imitation of the *Angelick Glory*, and of that Dispensation, which, as the Scriptures say, they wait for, who treading in the Steps of the Apostles, live in the Perfection of *Evangelical Righteousness*; for these, the Apostle writes, shall be took up into the Clouds, [1 Thes. iv. 17.] and there first as Deacons attend, and then according to the Process, or next Station of Glory, be admitted into the Presbytery, (for Glory differs from Glory) till they increase to a perfect Man.

Hence he argues, that since the Scriptures mention but two Orders of Angels, viz. Archangels and Angels; and the Stations of glorify'd Saints are here explain'd by being Deacons a while, and then taken into the Presbytery, and

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fo

† See Enq. p. 72.

|| Περιοπαὶ ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων. Stro-
mat. 6.

* Μιμήματα οἶμαι Ἀγγελικῆς δόξης, καὶ κείνης τῇ οἰ-
κονομίᾳ τυγχάνουσιν, ἣν ἀναμύειν φασὶν αἱ γεγρα-
μέναι καὶ ἱχνοὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τελείᾳ δικαιοσύνης
καὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον βεβαιώσας, ἐν νεφέλαις τέτες ἀρβύ-
ναι, γράφει ὁ Ἀπόστολος, διακονήσιν μὲν τὰ πρῶτα,
ἵνα ἐγκαταλαγῇ τὴν πρεσβυτείαν καὶ περιοπῇ τὴν
δόξαν, δόξα δὲ δόξης ἀναφέρει, ἅχεις δὲ εἰς τέλειον
ἀνδρὸς αὐξήσωσιν. Id. ibi

so (as he says) *their Glory perfected*: It therefore appears, that the Holy Father meant his *Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons*, to have but *two Orders* amongst them.

This is his Argument faithfully stated, and I think to the full. Upon which I take Leave to make these few Observations.

First, That since Deacons and Presbyters (which are two of *Clemens's* three Progressions in the Church) have unquestionably a distinct Order from one another, and yet but one common Word is used to express *those* two Progressions, and that of the third together with them; it is a forced and unwarrantable Construction (I conceive) of the venerable Father's Phrase, to make him mean a Difference of Order between two of these Progressions, and no Difference at all in the third: For that a Difference of Order was to be understood amongst these Progressions in general, is clear from our Enquirer's Application of them, who insists upon it, that they were an Imitation of the *Archangels* and *Angels Orders*: So that not only three Progressions must here be taken to be a natural Pattern and Imitation of two only in Heaven above; but one of the three also, who had no distinct Order, but what was common to another, must help to make up the true Representation of the State of Angels and Archangels, who had each of them a very distinct and different Order to themselves. And this will appear the harder Construction of *Clemens's* Words still, if we observe, that in this very Quotation itself, when he expresses the two Orders of Glorify'd Saints afterwards, by their advancing

vancing from the Order of Deacon-Saints first, to that of glorify'd Presbyters at last; (upon which the Force of this Argument depends) he uses the † same numerical Word for it, 'tis a *Περιοχή Δόξης*, which makes the higher Order of Saints or Angels there; and why must not this *Περιοχή* of Bishops then (in his Language) be thought to do as much for them, if the *Relatum* and *Correlatum* in the Comparison duly answer one another; I conceive it must be so. But,

Secondly, What warrantable Grounds can we have to determine the Number of the Orders of Angels, by reading *only* of Angels and Arch-angels in the Holy Scriptures? S. Augustin durst not do it; but thought a * *cautious Ignorance less to be blam'd, than a rash Presumption in this very Case*; and was so humble as to own it in himself. That there are Thrones, and Dominions, and Principalities, and Powers, in the heavenly Parade above, (says he) I steadfastly believe; and 'tis my undoubted Faith, that there is a Difference between them; but what that Difference is, I know not, nor do I think that Ignorance is any Hurt to me. He seem'd to be mindful of S. Paul's awful Hint, not to intrude into Things he saw not. The

Q 2

learned

† Κατὰ περιοχὴν δόξης ἐγκαταλαγῆναι τῷ προσ-
Εἰσεκκ. Ibid.

* Magis in istis temeraria præsumptio, quam cauta ignoratio culpanda videatur. — Esse itaq; *sedes, dominationes, principatus, potestates*, in cœlestibus apparatibus firmissime credo, & differre inter se aliquid indubitata fide teneo — sed quid inter se differant, nescio: Nec sane ignorantia periclitari me puto. *August. lib. ad Oros. cap. 11. fol. 141. inter opera, Tom. 6. Paris 1555.*

learned *Grotius* (from the common Opinion of the *Jews*) affirms somewhat more of them, and says, † *They were Names of the sublimest Classes of Angels*, familiarly taken to be such by that ancient Church of God; which is little less than attributing so many *Orders* to them. Nor do I apprehend, indeed, that the general Division into *Archangels* and *Angels*, (supposing our Revelation of them to be full and entire) does any more conclude their *Orders* to be but strictly *Two*, than the Division of *English* Subjects into *Peers* and *Commoners*, is an evident Proof that there are but two *Orders* of Subjects in this Kingdom. And to draw Proofs for any Part of the Christian Dispensation from so precarious an Hypothesis as this, (to say the best of it) is to argue in the Dark. *Clemens* himself gave but little Occasion to be so represented; for he does not so much as name *the Orders* of *Angels*, but only mentions the *Angelical Glory* in this Quotation; and immediately joins it with the *Glory* of humane Saints in Heaven, as making both of them the Subject of his Comparison; and that he assign'd a threefold State of *Glory* to them, will appear by the last Observation I shall make; which is this:

Thirdly, That when *Clemens* advanc'd his glorify'd Saints from the inferiour State of *Deacons* into the *Presbytery* afterwards, he did not so consummate their *Bliss* there, as our Enquirer positively

† Nomina sublimissimarum classium angelicarum, frequentia apud Hebræos. *Grot. in Ephes. i. 21. inter opus. 2a. Tom. 3. p. 520. Lond. 1679.*

positively does; but adds, that *Glory differs from Glory*, (as the Quotation owns) till they increase into a perfect Man. And that this increasing into a perfect Man was a farther Advancement than that of his Deacon and Presbyter Saints before, is not only evident by what he adds immediately upon it, viz. † That such as those rest in the Holy Mount of God, in the uppermost Church, where the Philosophers of God do meet together, (so his Platonick Phrase is) and a great deal more of that Superlative Character of them; but, I think, is undeniably clear, at his Summing up this whole Argument a Leaf or two after, in these express Words: * You see (says he) what Wisdom says of these Gnosticks: And, in Proportion to this, there are different Mansions, according to the Dignity of Believers. Solomon says, a select Grace of Faith shall be given to him, and a more delightful Lot in the Temple of the Lord. This Comparative shews there are Inferiour ones in God's Temple,

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which

† Ἀχεις ἂν εἰς τέλειον ἄνδρα ἀυξήσωσιν. Οἱ ποιῶ-
νται — καὶ ἀπαύσεσιν ἐν ὅρει ἁγίῳ Θεοῦ, τῇ ἀνωτάτῃ
ἐκκλησίᾳ, καθ' ἣν οἱ φιλόσοφοι σιμάχοντ' τῷ Θεῷ.—
Strom. 6. p. 793.

* Ὅρας οἷα φεῖ σφ' Γνωστικῶν δ' ἀλέγετ' ἡ σοφία·
ἀναλόγως ἄρα καὶ μοναὶ ποικίλαι, καὶ ἀξία, σφ' πίστεως
σάντων. Ἀυτίνα Σολόμων, δοθήσετ' ᾧ αὐτῷ τ' πίστεως
ἡ χάρις ἐκλεκτῇ, καὶ κληρῷ ἐν ναῷ Κυεῖν συμπρέσεσθαι.
Τὸ συγκεκλιμένον ᾧ δέκνυσιν μὲν τὰ ὑποβεβηκότα ἐν τῷ
ναῷ τῷ Θεῷ, ὅς ἐστιν ἡ πᾶσα ἐκκλησία, ἀπολείπει δ' ἐννο-
εῖν καὶ τὸ ὑπερθετικόν, ἔνθα ὁ Κυεῖός ἐστιν. Ταύτας ἐκ-
λεκτάς ἔσας τὰς τρεῖς μονὰς οἱ ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ ἀειθ-
μοὶ ἀνίστασθαι, ὁ τειάκοντα, καὶ ὁ ἐξήκοντα, καὶ ὁ ἑκατόν·
καὶ ἡ μὲν τελεία κληρονομία σφ' εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον ἀφικνε-
μένων, κατ' εἰκόνα τῷ Κυεῖν. Ib. p. 797.

which is the Universal Church; and it gives us to understand, there is a Superlative one too, where the Lord is. These three elect Mansions are signify'd by the Numbers in the Gospel, of thirty, sixty, and an hundred fold: And the perfect Inheritance is theirs, who attain to the perfect Man, according to the Image of the Lord.

By this clear Evidence of the venerable Father's Sense, I conceive he now appears consistent with himself, and that the three Orders in the Church are so far from being lost by the Parallel, that it could not be made out without them; and I should think I very unfairly represented him, if I contracted them into two.

Between these two Authorities of *Clemens*, for only two Orders in the Church, the * Enquiry describes the Form of Session in the ancient Presbytery; which I should pass over without any Controversy about it, but that he tells us there, that *S. Cyprian* calls the Presbyters *his Collegues* in the Session. This oblig'd me to consider his Authority for it, because I had appropriated that Title to *Bishops only*, by which they spoke of one another; and had accordingly † argued (as you may remember) for their Prerogatives upon it. I presum'd he had found some singular Passage in *S. Cyprian*, to warrant what he had said. The Place he quotes for it, is in his 28th Epistle, § 2. [Edit. *Panel.* or *Ep.* 34. Edit. *Oxon.*] I carefully perus'd the whole Epistle, and found *S. Cyprian* mentioning *his Collegues* four times in it.

First,

* Enq. p. 74.

† Pag. 171. *supra*.

First, He commends his Presbyters and Deacons (to whom he writes) for *not communicating with a Presbyter and Deacon of Didda, as his Collegues* * *had advis'd them.* Were these Collegues his own Presbyters, (do we imagine) by whose Advice they themselves acted so agreeably to his Mind? Secondly, He takes Notice to his Presbyters, that they had acquainted him by Letter, how the said Presbyter of *Didda* and his Deacon had been admonish'd again and again by his Collegues, and yet *ſ* went on in their Fault. Did the Presbyters mean themselves, by those Collegues, in their Letter to *Cyprian*? Why not admonish'd by *us*? (when the Letter was their own) and why not by *you*, in *S. Cyprian's* again to them? but no Remark can make it so plain, as the Epistle itself does; yet I must go on to the Place peculiarly quoted still. Thirdly, then, he orders his Presbyters and Deacons to read his Letters to his Collegues also, *if there were any there, or happen'd to come thither*: Strange Sense, if he meant such Persons as he wrote to, and question'd whether any of them were there. Thus far I think his Collegues and Presbyters were somewhat different Persons with him; and do we think he used the same Term a fourth time after this, and meant quite another thing by it? In the last place then, he acquaints his Presbyters

and

Q 4

* *Consilio collegarum meorum — censuistis non communicandum. Cypr. Ep. 34. Edit. Oxon.*

† *Semel atq; iterum, secundum quod mihi scripsistis, a collegis meis moniti — pertinaciter perstiterunt. Ib.*

† *Legite has easdem literas & collegis meis, si qui aut praesentes fuerint, aut supervenerint. Ib.*

and Deacons, what should be done in the Case of two Sub-deacons and an Acolyth, which they consulted him about; and tells them, that many of his own Clergy were yet absent, and he would not privately decide that Cause, which was likely to be a standing Precedent concerning Ministers of the Church, and therefore ought to be examin'd, || *not only together with his Collegues, but with all his People also*: Letting them plainly know, that the Hearing of that Cause should be as publick as the Concern was, and not only he, and his own Clergy to whom he wrote, but *his Collegues also*, and even his own People too should be present at it; where by his *Collegues*, surely he meant the same Persons, as he had three times before (you see) in the same Letter, that is some Bishops of the Province, whereof he was Metropolitan; as the Solemnity of the Case did manifestly invite him to call in their Assistance, and require their Presence, according to his Account of it. And this confirms me more still, that *Colleague* was unquestionably a Term appropriated to *Fellow-Bishops* only, in S. Cyprian's Language; since the fairest Instance so inquisitive an Author could single out to disprove it, appears to fall in with it too.

I have

|| Hæc singulorum tractanda sit & limanda plenius ratio, non tantum cum *Collegis* meis, sed & cum plebe universa, expensa enim moderatione librandæ & pernuncianda res est, quæ in posterum circa ministros ecclesiæ constituat exemplum. *ib.*

I have now consider'd (and too particularly, I'm afraid, the tir'd Reader will think) the three general Arguments for Equality of Orders in the Bishops and Presbyters of the Church, with every single Authority, I think, which the ingenious Enquirer has offer'd for the Proof of it; and if it still appears, that the Presbyters could do every *Clerical Act* which the Bishop could do, by vertue of their inherent Powers alone, without his Authority for it; that their different Powers made no Difference of Orders in them; that the Identity, and Sameness of Name, prov'd them to be the same with one another; and that the Primitive Fathers did expressly own and declare that there were but two Orders in the Church: 'Tis no more than that learned Author foretold, would surely be the Effect of such a vain Attempt as this. * For tho' he humbly question'd for a while, whether his Premises were fully prov'd or no; yet he concluded soon, that upon the narrowest Enquiry he could make, *they could not be evinc'd*. I have no Opinion of all that I have said, any farther than of the Sincerity of it, and that it keeps me unavoidably (thro' the Evidence of Truth I verily think to be in it) from consenting to any one of the Arguments he offers for his Cause. What others may think of it, I leave only to God and themselves; having as unfeign'd and hearty a Concern (I may say it before him, who knows my Thoughts long before-hand) as that affectionate Author professes to have for the unhappy Divisions

* See Enq. p. 75.

vitions this fatal Controversy causes in the Church.

The Close of this Chapter is an innocent Speculation about the Reason of the Number of Presbyters in the Primitive Churches, and of the time when their Office began. The Scheme requir'd something of this, since a Diocese was allow'd by it to have no more than a single Congregation for three hundred Years together; and reading of forty or fifty Presbyters in one, the Question might be ask'd, (he pretty well foresaw) what need there should be of them all? He answers therefore, They were partly as Curates are to our Rectors now, tho' more necessary ones (says he) upon Account of the Variety of Accidents then, and of the Uncertainty of the Times; and because the Number might be a little surprizing still, he farther makes his Presbyters to be young Pupils to his Parochial Bishops, and in a State of Education under them, to be fit to succeed them in Time. This harmless Thought, since 'tis press'd upon us with no Authorities of Fathers, Councils, or Historians, to give the Reader much Trouble about it, shall be left undisturb'd by me; and I'll conclude this Chapter, (as the Enquiry does) with a short Reflexion upon a remarkable Account which *Clement Alexandrianus* gives us of S. John the Apostle; * *He went (upon Request) to the Neighbour-*

* Ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρθοκαλέμενης καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχους ἑθνῶν. Ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους, κατεστήσων, — Ὅπου δὲ ἄλλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων. Ὅπου δὲ ἐναγέ τινα κληρῶν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶ πνύματι σημαينوμένων. Τίς ὁ πλ. κωζ. c. ult. & Euseb. l. 3. c. 23.

ing Provinces (says Clemens) in some Places to constitute Bishops; in others, to plant whole Churches; and in other Places to ordain such into the Number of the Clergy, as were signify'd to him by the Holy Ghost. Here is a sacred Example of Primitive Bishops indeed, instituted (we may truly say) by the Holy Ghost itself, for who assign'd the Persons? 'twas that Holy Spirit (you see) in this Quotation, and Inducted by an Apostle, for so S. John plac'd them in their Churches; and if our learned Author meant such an Institution and Induction as this, deriv'd from this Original upon all their Successors in the like Station in the Church, we should differ but little about his Words, when he calls the Bishops, the Presented, Instituted, and Inducted Ministers of his Dioceſan Parishes. [Enq. Pag. 57.] But then the Obligation of the Presbyters, not to invade these Bishops Places, would have something more in it, than he thinks fit to allow; for he will have it, that for Peace, or Unity, or Order sake, they could not or would not do it, as if it were meer Gentleness, or Love of Peace in them, which with-held them from invading a Bishop's Function, being as fully qualify'd for it as the Bishops themselves; whereas here is an eminent Superior by God's Institution ordain'd to preside over them; and as I have prov'd above, with Additional Clerical Powers too, which were never imparted to them; and as the Bishops were thus Apostolically settled at the first, so the Orders of Presbyters and Deacons (as distinct from them here) had the like Institution and Induction into their respective Places in the Churches, so early as S. John's time; for our Enquirer tells us, he believes,

lieves, that by the Word *Clergy*, in the last Clause of this Quotation, both those Orders most probably should be understood. So that a *Divine Right* for each of them, in the Language and Acceptation of those Times, wherein *Clemens* and *Eusebius* liv'd, is as clearly affirm'd here, as the venerable *Clemens*, in so few Words, could possibly have said it.

C H A P. V.

THE Fifth Chapter begins with the Order and Office of *Deacons*; and 'tis a Comfort to hear || *there's no great Controversy about them*. I hope I shall occasion none, by barely using the learned *Vossius's* Authority for restoring a *Negative Particle* to a short Clause quoted out of *S. Ignatius*, here: The *Enquiry* leaves it out, (as some Copies had done before) and by that means makes that venerable Father call this third Order in the Church, § *The Deacons of Meats and Cups*: † Whereas 'tis plain, *S. Ignatius's* Intention was to remove that meaner Character from them, and give them their proper

|| Enq. p. 79.

§ Βρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν εἰς δαίμονες. Enq. p. 80.

† Οὐ γὰρ βρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν εἰς δαίμονες, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπηρέται — Πάντες ἐντρέψωσαν τοὺς δαίμονες. Ignat. Ep. ad Trall. p. 48. Edit. Vossii secunda Lond. 1680.

per Title of *Servants, or Ministers, of the Church of God*; (in Contradistinction to it) and immediately thereupon he requires all to reverence them accordingly: The Nature of the Period itself, and the Holy Father's ordinary Notion of the Deacons, agree with this Reading. The rest upon this Head I willingly leave as I find it, and wish I could have done the like to all that's gone before.

Sub-deacons are briefly consider'd next; not for any Thing this learned Author thought material to say about them, but purely (one wou'd think) to give one plausible Turn more to what he seems to have so much at heart, *The Equality of Bishops and Presbyters Orders*. For all he observes of them is this, that the Orders of Deacons and Sub-deacons (in his || Opinion of them) were *probably* the same; the one intended only to assist the other in the same Ecclesiastical Offices, (common to them both) that so the Account he gave of the like Equality between Bishops and Presbyters might pass the better for being so directly parallel to these. Now all he could hope for from hence, amounts to no more than what Uncertainty and Supposition could afford him; for he concludes it doubtful, after all, whether Deacons and Sub-deacons Orders were the same, and † supposes it only upon this Presumption, that *in no Church whatsoever it was usual to have more than seven Deacons, because of the original Number instituted by the Apostles; and therefore*

|| Enq. p. 81.

† Ibid.

therefore Sub-deacons were ordained to discharge their necessary Ministrations for them in the greater and more numerous Churches. But that a Sub-deacon could not discharge the necessary Ministrations of a Deacon, I think is plain enough, from what our learned Author himself knows, and * owns, a Deacon did in the Primitive Church; that is, assist in the Celebration of the Eucharist, preach, and baptize; for what Monument of Antiquity ever affirm'd the Sub-deacons, could do all this? So far from that, that the Council of *Laodicea* (which the learned Dr. *Cave* observes was peculiarly held to revive the Discipline of the Primitive Church) assures us, § *Sub-deacons were not suffer'd to have any Place in the Diaconicum, [or sacred Apartment of the Deacons] † nor so much as to touch the Holy Vessels. || That they might not wear the sacred Fascia, or Linnen Wreath (call'd the Orarium) appointed for the Deacon's Office; and for this very Reason, (as Zonaras notes upon it) ‡ because every sacred Order had their peculiar Habit.* That Sub-deacons ministred to, and not for the Deacons, is observ'd by the inquisitive * *Suicer*, from no less Authority than the first great Council

* Enq. p. 80.

§ In eo præcipuè id agebatur, ut collapsa primitivæ ecclesiæ disciplina resarciretur. *Hist. Liter. Part 2. p. 122. Edit. Lond. 1698.*

† Οὐ δὲ ὑπηρετάς ἔχειν χώραν ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ, καὶ ἀπιδᾶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν. *Conc. Laod. Can. 21.*

|| Οὐ δὲ ὑπηρετὴν ὠφέλιον φορεῖν. *Ib. Can. 22.*

‡ Ἐκάσῳ ἱερῷ τάγματι ἁπονεμένη καὶ εὐλογημένη οἰκία αὐτῶν, &c. *Zonar. in Can.*

* *Suicer* in voce ὑπηρετῆς. Ὑπηρεταὶ in Ecclesiâ dicuntur subdiaconi, qui episcopis, presbyteris, & *Diaconis* ministrant. *Act. Conc. Nic. 1. Par. 2. p. 172.*

Council of Nice. All this does little less than directly contradict the Hypothesis before us, of Sub-deacons being ordain'd to discharge the Deacons Ministrations in their stead; and, one would think, were Evidence enough to prove their Orders to be different, unless some authentick Ordinal, within our Enquirer's Period of Time, were extant to demonstrate the contrary: And lastly, As to the Primitive Churches confining themselves to seven Deacons only, from the Example of the first Institution in the *Acts*, I refer the Reader to the Judgment of the sixth general Council about it, where he will find (in their 16th Canon) † that that Original Precedent in the *Acts*, did not affect the Number or Office of the Deacons *who ministred at the Altar of the Church*. And the Testimony of an OEcumenical Council about the Sense of the Catholick Church, is of some Weight, (I think) tho' at a distance from the Three first Centuries of it.

But to pass from this, and all the other antiquated Orders in the Primitive Church, I proceed to consider the next general Head in this Chapter; which is, the Manner of ordaining Presbyters in Use amongst them then.

And, in no Point is our learned Author more Curious and Particular than in this: He presents us with every Circumstance of the ancient Manner of ordaining Presbyters, in a more exact Method than any Author who liv'd amongst

† Τὰς χειρὶ μόνους ἐπὶ τὰ διακόνους μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις διακονημάτων λαμβάνεσθαι. Conc. 6. in Trullo. Can. 16.

amongst them (or near those early Ages he speaks of) ever did; and for that reason, I shall oblige the Reader with the whole Scheme of it, in his own Words.

Whosoever desir'd to be admitted (says || he) into this Sacred Office, he first propos'd himself to the Presbytery of the Parish where he dwelt and was to be ordain'd; desiring their Consent to his design'd Intention; praying them to conferr upon him those holy Orders which he crav'd. Now we must suppose (says he) this Petition to the whole Presbytery, because a Bishop alone could not give those Holy Orders; as is most evident from Cyprian, who assures us, that all Clerical Ordinations were perform'd by the Common Council of the whole Presbytery. † Upon this Application, the Presbytery debated their Petition in * their Common Council, and proceeded to examine, whether he had those Qualifications and Endowments which were requisite for that sacred Office, (viz. these four) His Age, his Condition in the World, his Conversation, and his Understanding. § If they approv'd all, they declar'd him capable of the Function. Then his Name must be propounded to the People, that, if Worthy, he might have their Testimony and Attestation; if Unworthy, he might be debarr'd and excluded from Orders: If they approv'd his Fitness for the Office, then follow'd Ordination, by Imposition of Hands, usually

|| Enq. p. 83, 84.

† Communi consilio omnium nostrum. Cyp. Ep. 24. alias 29. Edit. Oxon.

* Enq. Ibid.

§ Enq. p. 95, 96.

usually of the Bishop and Presbyters of the Parish, according to 1 Tim. iv. 14.

Here's a formal Abstract (one would verily think) of some Primitive *Ordinal* or another; tho' not a Syllable quoted from any one Record, so publick, proper, and necessary in the Case; here's a Candidate for Holy Orders, made an humble Supplicant to a whole Parochial (or *Diocesan*) Presbytery for them, and not a Text of Scripture to direct, or one single Canon (so much as of a Provincial Synod) to require it of them: And lastly, here's a Catholick Practice set forth to us, upon a bare *Supposition*, (for the learned Author himself says no more) that three or four Words in a particular Bishop's Writings, relating purely to his own peculiar Practice, (as we shall see by and by) must *evidently* imply so much.

This is a singular Method, I must needs say, of proving the general Practice of the Christian Church; and to say the most we can of it, amounts only to this, that if the excellent S. *Cyprian* did upon any Consideration whatsoever generally consult his Presbytery (and we may say his People too) whensoever he ordain'd in his Church; then he, and all other Christian Bishops besides, were so far oblig'd, by the Constitution of the Catholick Church in his Time, to do so, that none of them could ordain a single Presbyter without them: For upon that holy Father's Account of himself alone (and that in much larger Terms in the Translation, than we find it in his own Text) this formal Scheme of *Primitive Ordinations* is drawn. Let the Reader consult the Whole, and he'll find it so; tho' what-

ever less material Quotation intervenes, I shall both mention and weigh it too. In the mean time, to prove the Translation of the present Quotation to be far wider than the Text itself, (before we go any farther) we need only set one against the other.

The *Enquiry* makes S. Cyprian say, that all *Clerical Ordinations* were perform'd by the *Common Council of the whole Presbytery*, implying by his general Terms, (and the Application of them here) that he and all other Bishops practis'd so. Whereas the Words, *All Clerical Ordinations*, are neither nam'd, nor so much as imply'd, in that Epistle, from whence this Quotation is taken. The whole Case there was this: * S. Cyprian had formerly design'd to ordain a certain *Lector and Sub-deacon*, by the *common Advice and Counsel of his Presbyters and Deacons*; [therefore he assures us (says our learned Enquirer) that all *Clerical Ordinations* were perform'd by the *Common Council of the whole Presbytery*; for from this very Place the Quotation is taken.] † But having Occasion, as the holy Bishop farther tells them, to make use of such *Clerical Officers* in the time of his Absence from them, he lets them know, that he had ordain'd them there by himself alone, (which, by the way, is Proof enough that the Orders were complete, and valid to all Intents and Purposes, without them.) 'Tis true, he plainly

* Quod jampridem communi consilio omnium nostrum coeperat, &c. — oportuit me per clericos scribere.

† Fecisse me sciatis lectorem Saturnum & hypodiaco-num Optatum. Ep. 29. Edit. Oxon.

plainly wishes (as his Manner was) rather to have had them in Council with him, and excuses himself for doing it alone; and why? * *Because he had solemnly purpos'd with himself* (as he tells them in another Epistle) *from the time of his first Promotion to the See, that he would do nothing of his own private Opinion, without consulting them, or without the Consent of his People.* The only needful Enquiry here is this:

Was this Resolution of *S. Cyprian* grounded upon any Law of God, or the Church, by which he was obliged and bound to do so? Or was it by the meer free Motion of his own Discretion and Goodness, that he determin'd so with himself? The former would imply Catholick Practice and Duty in the Case, if it had been prov'd; the latter will amount to no more, than a Personal Vertue and Prudence in the peculiar Circumstances of that meek and Holy Martyr; worthy of all Imitation indeed, where Times and Persons suited so properly with it, as this did then. But, otherwise, obliging unto none.

That no Constitution, Law, or Canon whatsoever, obliged *S. Cyprian* to it; these following Particulars must incline us to believe.

First, That the whole College of Presbyters and Deacons in the Church of *Rome*, who were cotemporary with the Holy Martyr himself, and continually corresponding with him, give a quite contrary Account of it. For in the Pre-

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face

* *A primordio episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro, & sine plebis consensu meâ privatim sententiâ gerere. Cyp. Ep. 14. § ult. Edit. Oxon.*

face of an Epistle to him, they represent his Practice thus : † *Altho' a good Conscience (say they) supported by the Vigor of the Discipline of the Gospel, and made a true Witness of itself, by the Decrees of Heaven, commonly contents itself with appealing to the Judgment of God alone, and neither courts the Praise, nor fears the Accusations of another ; yet they are worthy of double Honour indeed, who, knowing their own Conscience, ought of right to be judg'd of God only, yet desire all their Actions to be try'd and approv'd by their own very Brethren themselves ; which we don't wonder, Brother Cyprian, that you do ; who, according to your native Modesty and Care, are willing that we [the Presbyters and Deacons of another Church] should judge, or rather be Partners of all your Counsels with you.*

This is pretty clear Language, and the holy Martyr himself says little less, when he speaks out to the Lapsed Brethren of his own Diocese, that § *the Church was constituted upon Bishops, and every*

† *Quamquam bene sibi conscius animus, & evangelicæ disciplinæ vigore subnixus, & verus sibi in decretis celestibus testis effectus, soleat solo Deo judice esse contentus, nec alterius aut laudes petere aut accusationes pertimescere ; tamen geminatâ sunt laude condigni, qui cum conscientiam sciant Deo soli debere se judici, actus tamen suos desiderant etiam ab ipsis suis fratribus comprobari ; quod te, frater Cypriane, facere non mirum est, qui pro tuâ verecundiâ & ingenita industria consiliorum tuorum nos non tam iudices voluisti, quam participes invenire. Ep. 30. § 1. Edit. Oxon.*

§ *Per temporum & successionum vices episcoporum ordinatio, & Ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constitutur, & omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem praepositos gubernetur. Cypr. Ep. 33. § 1. Edit. Oxon.*

every Act of it was to be govern'd by them; and his stated Sense, repeated over and over again, throughout his whole Works, is this, † That every Bishop had the Ordering and Disposing of his own Act in the Administration of the Church, and was accountable for it to God alone. The learned Dr. || Cave understood this in the same Sense that the Roman Presbyters and Deacons did, and therefore speaks of this Holy Martyr's Practice in the same Language with them; * he was so modest, (says that judicious Author) that in all great Transactions concerning the Church, he always consulted with his Collegues and his Flock, and determin'd not to adjudge any thing without the Counsel of the Clergy and the People. A singular Modesty! if he were obliged to act no otherwise. But,

Secondly, S. Cyprian's own Expression, upon which this Question more immediately depends, implies no manner of Obligation in it; but on the contrary, denotes a free Determination of his own Will, § [*à primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim*, says he] I have purpos'd or determin'd with myself, from the time I enter'd upon the Bishoprick, that I would act in common Concert with you all. This was a Rule, indeed, for the Holy Man to act by; but all the Authority in it taken

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upon

† Actum suum disponit & dirigit unusquisq; Episcopus rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus. Ep. 55. p. 110.

|| In Ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum. Ep. 72. p. 198. Ep. 59. p. 136. Ep. 6, p. 188, &c.

* Cave's Life of S. Cyprian, p. 263.

§ Ep. 14. § ult.

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upon himself alone: So the learned *Grotius* expressly declar'd it to be, even when he was speaking in favour of the Presbyters and Presbytery of the Church; for quoting this Passage of *S. Cyprian*, * *the Word [Statuerim]* says he, *signifies a voluntary Act of his own*; and I presume the most partial Reader finds no more of any Legal Obligation in it, than that discerning Critick did. But,

Thirdly, 'Tis instead of many Arguments to me, that no Law, Ecclesiastical or Divine, oblig'd that humble Bishop to his ordinary Condescensions in the Case, That our accurate Enquirer himself could not find so much as a single one in all Antiquity for it: For, had he found one, he had never left his plausible Scheme, so perfectly precarious as it is, without it. For what can be more so? than thus formally to represent a Candidate for Orders, tendering his Petition to a Parochial Presbytery for them, the Presbyters in solemn Debate upon *such Petition*, and the whole Success of the Supplicant to depend on *their declaring him capable or incapable of them*, and the *People's Authority in it*, little less than theirs too; insomuch as the Bishop himself was not able, by any Power or Commission of his own, to ordain so much as a single Clerk in his Diocese, but as *they* should please to approve or disapprove of him: And *all this*, without one sacred Text, one single Canon, (General or Provincial) one clear Precedent of Matter of Fact,

* *A primordio Episcopatus mei Statuerim* [hæc vox rem arbitriam significat.] *Grot. de Imp. Sum. potest. &c. Cap. xi. § 14.*

Fact, or so much as a positive Affirmation of a single Father of the Church, that it was Catholick Custom and Constitution to do so; but purely, because a wise and humble Bishop would have a Chapter call'd, and take what Counsel and Information he possibly could from his Presbyters, and from his People too, before he would proceed to Ordinations. For S. Cyprian's *Commune Consilium*, (the *Consistorial Convention* he was pleas'd to call upon such Occasions) is the very Fundamental Argument here for the whole Scheme: Of which Convention, the Holy Martyr himself tells us plainly enough what Assistance he ever expected from it; (when he acted most in Common Council with them all) for speaking in full and plain Terms about it to his Presbyters, Deacons, and People together, he expresses the Whole of his Expectations from them to be no more, than their Evidence, Information, or *Testimony*, about the Qualifications or Merits of the Persons he purposed to ordain. || *Humana testimonia* are the very Words he uses, to denote their Part in all his Clerical Ordinations, as you will see in his 38th Epistle, where this Custom of his is drawn up by his own Pen.

Now to draw such pregnant Inferences as we have heard but now, and to raise such imaginary Suppositions as are offer'd us here, from these Consistory Councils alone, is much the same thing, as if we should suppose, that some

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|| Sed expectanda non sunt testimonia humana. (Cyp. Ep. 38. § 1. Edit. Oxon.

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Branch (at least) of Royal Authority must needs belong to the Privy Counsellors of a wise Prince, because he will seldom, or never, collate Honours, or exert any important Act of his Sovereign Power in the State, without entring first into Council with *them*; and that a cautious and wise Judge, who gets all the Evidence and Information he possibly can, before he decides a Cause, and probably forms his Judgment in a great Measure by the Advantage of it, should therefore be said to allow a Negative or Casting Voice to those Witnesses, because they have some useful Influence (in all Appearance) upon his Determination. S. *Cyprian's* Case with his Presbytery and People, both in his own Account, and from the impartial Judgment we have heard of others about it, has a plain and near Resemblance to these; at least (I may say) the *Enquiry* before us offers nothing that can prove it to differ from them: For he proves no more, but that S. *Cyprian* had such a Consistory Council in his Church, and made some use of it in his Clerical Ordinations, (and I doubt not but other Churches did so too.) But as to the Candidate's Petitionary Application for *craving Orders from them*, and his Success depending upon *their Conciliary Declaration* in the Case, and the People's Authority to *debar or exclude him*, if they thought him unfit for them, and the *Bishop's Incapacity to ordain alone*, he allows his Fancy to infer and suppose all that, without one single Proof or Authority for either of them, unless his Quotation [*Page 96.*] from S. *Cyprian's* 68th Ep. § 4. must pass for a Proof of the People's great Interest and Authority in Ordinations, which,

which, I have shewn at large * before, implies no such thing at all.

We have seen then what S. Cyprian's *Commune Consilium*, or his ordinary Consultations with his Presbytery and People, means. And in that, how much Authority the learned *Enquirer* had to represent the Primitive Manner of ordaining Presbyters in such a singular and unprecedented Form, as he has done here: And if the Reader please to reflect upon what I have offer'd from Holy Scripture and Primitive Antiquity before, to prove, that *all Ordaining Power* was originally a *Personal Trust*, fully and entirely invested in the single Persons of the first Governors of the Church, by Divine and Apostolical Institution, and deriv'd down so; I shall need to leave no other Test with him to try this extraordinary Scheme by. Yet, because the *Enquirer* himself has suggested one Particular more, (immediately relating to this present Case) I shall briefly mention it, forasmuch as 'tis his own.

In the Close of the former Chapter he observes, † that *all Churches were not furnish'd with Presbyters, and especially new-planted ones, where either the Number or Abilities of the Believers were small and inconsiderable*, which I make no doubt of; and therefore can't but ask a few obvious Questions about them. Can we think such new-planted Churches were never so bless'd with an Increase of Converts, as to stand in need of Assisting Pastors to dispense the Word and Sacraments to them? Do we believe there was no

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* Chap. iii. p. 139. *supra*.

† *Enq.* p. 77.

Authority in the single Pastors or Bishops, to whom those Churches were entirely committed, to supply that important Want in them? Could the Discipline of such Churches be executed by a joint Council of Bishop and Presbytery (in the known Catholick Sense of such an Ecclesiastical Body) where no ordain'd Presbyters were? Or have we any Precedent or Rule, for the Bishops of such Sees to seek Abroad in other Churches for necessary Ministers to assist them in case they stood in need? Unless all this can be suppos'd, besides what we have so liberally suppos'd before, we must allow that single Bishops of those Primitive Churches had a Power in their Original Commission to ordain Assisting Elders for the Necessities of their increasing Flock or Diocese, and (to be sure) to execute the Discipline of the Church, without a regular Presbytery to give any kind of Force or Sanction to it. And the Case of *Titus's* Commission in *Crete* is Evidence enough of all this, if we would impartially judge of it: For that there were no Church-Ministers of any Denomination at that Time settled there, is highly agreeable to the sacred Account of it; and then, 'tis clear, he must have ordain'd in that Island, without any such Presbytery to assist in it; for to that very Purpose was he left there. Or if *S. Paul* had ordain'd any Elders there before, that would look very favourably on the Episcopal Prerogative again, that such a single and peculiar Church-Governor, as *Titus* was, should be nominated and sent thither with that special Article at the Head of his Commission, if any Presbyters

byters or Elders, already resident amongst them, could have done it as well as he.

Having seen then where the full Power and Right of *Ordination* always lay; if a Candidate did petition for *his Orders*, one would think it should be directly *there*, even to the venerable Bishop alone: Or if, peradventure, for a *Testimonial* of his Qualifications and moral Conversation, the Presbytery might not improperly be address'd to for it, or the more eminent of the People either; for Recommendations from them had a considerable Influence (to be sure) on every wise and careful Bishop in the Church; tho', should the Candidate not proceed in such a *Form*, (which we have little Evidence to prove he did) yet the Bishop's Voluntary Consultations with them in the Manner that the excellent *S. Cyprian* us'd it, did sufficiently supply that; and more than so, neither the *Enquirer's* own Quotations, nor any other Records of Antiquity I meet with, do amount to.

As to the particular *Qualifications*, (there mention'd to be usually enquir'd into) we need have little Difference about them. Such as the ingenious Author names, are Primitive and Genuine: And in the Canons and Ordination-Offices of *our own Church*, such suitable Provision is made for each of them, that if the Spirit of Peace and Unity in the blessed Primitive Times were not more alter'd amongst us, than the Constitution of the Church is, we should hear of few Exceptions against it. For,

First, As to the Age of a Candidate, I find but little particularly determin'd about it within the Three first Centuries; only, in general, that

that he should not be a *Novice*; (a Word often used with little good Intention in our Times, and as little understood) for in the Scripture Sense of it, and as the Word itself literally imports, a *Novice* can scarcely ever be ordain'd here now; because it signifies an adult Person *but very lately converted to the Faith, and newly planted in the Church*, as the best † Commentators agree in the Exposition of it. But as to Maturity of Years in general, it has little or no Reference to it, tho' S. Paul's Use of the Word to Timothy is by this learned Author here apply'd to that Purpose: Whereas to be early baptiz'd rather, and to have the Advantages of a happy Education after it, for the Improvement of Knowledge in sacred and humane Learning together, are the proper Considerations (in this respect) to form a reasonable Judgment of Maturity of Age by; and in View of both these, in the Age and Nation wherein we live, our Holy Mother the Church has || enjoin'd the Age of Candidates to be always enquir'd into, and allow'd none to be ordain'd sooner, than in all Probability (with these Advantages) they may have attain'd to it; tho' she § commands a strict Examination for farther Assurance in it too, and * suffers none to be advanced from the lowest to the highest Order afterwards, without a gradual Promotion to them, and a Space of
Time

† See S. Jerome, Chrysostome, OEcumenius, Theophylact; and, of later Times, Erasmus, Menochius, A Lapide, Dr. Hammond, Grotius, in 1 Tim. iii. 6.

‡ Vide Can. 34. Edit. A. D. 1604.

§ Ib. Can. 35.

* Ib. Can. 32, and Last Rub. in Off. for Ord. Deacons.

Time given to try how they behave themselves in the first. And,

Secondly, No less Care does she take to confine all her Ministers to that holy Employment alone, to which she has consecrated each of them; enjoining them * to lay out every Hour they can get, either in Reading or Hearing the holy Scriptures; or some such laudable Study or Exercise as that; and to be ever doing what tends to Piety and Virtue, and to the Advancement of the Church of God; † interdicting all mean Trade or Employment in the World, and much more every loose and scandalous Course of Life, under Penalty of all the Censures she can inflict upon them. And,

Thirdly, That she imitates the Primitive Church in getting what Testimony and Information she possibly can, even from the People themselves, before her Bishops ordain any, I have || shewn already from the publick Manner of Celebrating those Sacred Offices, and the Holy Bishop's solemn Appeal to the Congregation to assign what Crime or Impediment they can, and even conjuring them in the Name of God to do so; and whosoever will, has timely Notice, and a free Liberty for it; and the Testimonials expected from the Neighbourhood where they lately liv'd,

* Horis omnibus opportunis vel scripturis legendis aut audiendis incumbant, vel alii cuiquam studio aut exercitio laudabili vacabunt; ea semper facientes quæ ad probitatem & virtutem spectant, seduloque operam dantes ut Ecclesiam Dei promoveant, &c. *Can.* 75.

† Nec vero sordidæ alicui aut illiberali operæ assuescent, nec potationibus & crapulæ se dedit, tempusve otiose transigent in alea, &c. *Ib.*

|| Ch. iii. p. 153. supra.

liv'd, is a farther Occasion for the same. And,

Lastly, As to the Trial of the Candidate's Understanding, and his Advancement both in sacred and humane Learning, she is far from neglecting that. She * enjoins the venerable Bishop himself (if able to be present) to be strict and diligent in his Examination; together with all the Presbyters who are to join in Imposition of Hands with him; requires it to be solemniz'd in the Cathedral itself, or the Bishop's Parochial Church, and the Reverend Dean, Arch-Deacon, and two Prebendaries at least, to be present and assisting in it, or (in Case of legal Absence) four of the gravest Preaching Ministers who may be had: Besides Testimonials requir'd either from Colleges of Presbyters and Graduates, where they have had their Education, or some grave, learned, and judicious Persons, who have known their Conversation for some Years last past; which, should we calculate the Numbers of the fullest Presbyteries in most of the Primitive Churches, would perhaps amount to as considerable a *Multitude* of proper *Counsellors* in this Case, as could ordinarily be had in those carefullest and purest Ages of the Church; and consequently as much *Safety* in it now (to use the † Words and Judgment of the Wisest of Men) as they could hope for then.

What can any Sons of Peace then complain of here? Ordinations (we have seen) are an unquestionable Part of the Bishop's Commission alone; the Manner of them is no otherwise set forth in
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* Vide Can. 31, 35.

† Prov. xi. 14.

Holy Scripture, than as Prayer, and Fasting, and Imposition of Hands were the Apostolical Way of conferring them: All other Circumstances in them were referr'd to the Wisdom and Judgment of the Ordainers themselves; and in our own Constitution, we find such Provision made for each of them, that had we but first learnt the most essential Rules of Church-membership, commanded in the Gospel, *to love the Brotherhood, obey them who are set over us in the Lord, and to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace*, we should find little Difficulty to own, that they were proper and sufficient Means (if duly executed) to obtain the End for which they were design'd.

I should here close this Subject and Chapter together, but that our learned Author has one Insinuation (in the Course of this Argument) against the modern Custom of *receiving Tythes*, which he may think, perhaps, deserves to be consider'd.

In quoting a Passage from S. Cyprian's 66th Epistle, he met with these Words, (relating to the Maintenance of the Ministry) * *In honore sportulantium fratrum, tanquam Decimas, ex fructibus accipientes*, which he translates thus: *As Tythes receiving Subscriptions from the Brethren.* And with nearer Analogy to the Words, (and quite as much Kindness to the Church) he might as well have render'd them, *the Clergy's living on the Basket.* For some Allusion there is indeed to that, but to *Subscriptions of the Brethren*, not the least, that I can see. The true Account of this

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* Enq. p. 86, 87.

Phrase will occasion some Digression; but it shall be as short as I can make it.

That the Primitive Christians paid their first Fruits to God, *Origen* assures us, when he says, * *To whom we pay first Fruits, to him we also offer up our Prayers.* *Irenæus* farther, when speaking of || the Oblations of the Christian Church, we ought (says he) to offer to God the First-Fruits of his Creature, even as *Moses* says, *Thou shalt not appear empty before the Lord thy God*; and that these First-Fruits (in the Language of the Fathers) included even Tythes in them, I might offer *Clément* *Alexandrinus's* Authority for it, who in one short Sentence makes them both to be Terms equivalent; § the Tythes of Fruits and Cattle (says he) taught Piety towards God; for out of these First-Fruits, (which he call'd Tythes, you see just before) I conceive the Priests also were maintain'd. But *Irenæus* needs no Illustration of his Sense in this Case, who expressly says, that † the Law of pay-

* Ὡς τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀποδίδωμεν, τέτω καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναπέμψωμεν. *Orig. c. Cell. Edit. Hoefchel. August. Vind. 1605.*

|| Ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri, &c. — Offerre igitur oportet Deo primitias ejus creaturæ, sicut & *Moyſes* ait, Non apparebis vacuus ante conspectum Domini Dei tui. *Iren. l. 4. c. 34.*

§ Αἱ δὲ δίδται καὶ καρπῶν καὶ θρεμμάτων δευτέρως εἰς θεόν — ἐδιδασκον ἐν τέτων ᾧ οἶμαι τὴν ἀπαρχὴν καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς διελπίζοντο. *Strom. l. 2. p. 397. Edit. Lutet. 1629.*

† *Iren. l. 4. c. 27.* Et quia Dominus naturalia legis, per quæ homo justificatur — non dissolvit, sed extendit, sed & implevit, ex sermonibus ejus ostenditur — pro eo quod est, non machaberis, nec concupiscere præcepit; & pro eo quod est, non occides, neq; irasci quidem; & pro eo quod est, decimare omnia, quæ sunt pauperibus dividere; hæc omnia non dissolventis erant legem, sed adimplentis, & extendentis, & dilatantis in nobis.

paying Tythes was no more abrogated by our Saviour's Doctrine, than those two Precepts in the Decalogue, against Adultery and Murder, were; but (like them) more enlarged and completed by it; insomuch that, as the Jews consecrated the Tythes of their Possessions to God, so Christians (says he) gave all they had to such Uses as the Lord had for it; and what Uses the Lord had for it, S. Paul tells us, where he calls it || *an Ordinance of the Lord*, that such as preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel, even so, as such as ministred in holy Things [before] liv'd of the Things of the Temple, and such as waited at the Altar were Partakers with the Altar [1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.]

To apply this therefore to the Case before us: Out of these First-Fruits, these holy Oblations, these Tythes, and Overplus of Tythes thus deposited by the Primitive Christians in the holy Apostles Hands at first, and in the Hands of the venerable Bishops of the Church for some considerable time after; those faithful Stewards of this Consecrated Treasure allotted a suitable Proportion to each Presbyter, Deacon, and other inferiour Officers in the Church; and withall, to such poor Brethren as stood in need of Maintenance: In which Distribution, every Clerical Officer's Part was call'd his † *Sportula*,

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|| Et propter hoc illi (sc. Judæi) decimas suorum habebant consecratas, qui autem perceperunt libertatem; omnia quæ sunt ipsorum ad Dominicos decernunt usus. Idem. ib. c. 34.

† Cæterum presbyterii honorem designasse nos illis jam sciatis, ut & sportulis iisdem cum presbyteris honorentur, & divisiones mensurnas æquatis quantitatis partiantur. Cyr. Ep. 39. ad finem. Edit. Oxon.

or Basket of the Consecrated Offerings, in Allusion to that Custom prescrib'd by the *Jewish* Law, that every *Israelite* who dwelt remote from the Temple at *Jerusalem*, should bring his First-Fruits in a *Basket* thither ; [*Deut.* xxvi. 2.] and accordingly, the several Ministers who receiv'd such Portion of those *Hallow'd Oblations*, were call'd the *Sportulantes Fratres*, (by *S. Cyprian* here and elsewhere) that is, *Brethren who had their Maintenance from those dedicated Things*.

How fairly, then, this Manner of Maintaining the Priesthood in the Primitive Church is, without any farther Note upon it, but as in an ordinary Notion of the Word, represented to be by the *meer Subscription* of the Brethren, I leave with the unprejudic'd Reader to judge.

The Holy Fathers themselves (we see) own a || *Natural Obligation* to pay such Tythes and Offerings to the great Author of all we possess, as the Heathens did indeed, (which we may see clearly set forth, in a short Comment of the late venerable *Bishop Fell*, upon the Close of *S. Cyprian's* Treatise of the *Unity of the Church*.) They argued the Obligation of it also, from the Morality of the *Mosaick Law in that Particular* : They profess that our Lord's Doctrine did not dissolve, but complete that Obligation, by enlarging the former Bounds and Measures of it.

What is wanting here then, to make the Sense and Practice of the Primitive and Modern Christians agree in this Matter, unless we amuse

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|| Dominus naturalia legis per quæ homo justificatur non dissolvit. *Iren.* (upon this Subject) ut supra.

ourselves about Forms and Circumstances of a Duty, and overlook the Thing? Little Difference, as I can see, between us; but that there was no Secular Law then to enforce the Duty upon Primitive Christians, as indeed it was scarcely possible there should be, all Power of that Kind being lodged then in Persecuting Heathen Hands, from whence it were absurd to look for it: Nor probably did any Canon of the Church so explicitly enjoin, or require it then, as they have done since; for which Mr. Selden himself has given a sufficient Reason: For * *it had been little to the Purpose indeed* (says he) *to have had Tythes of annual Increase paid, (and I may say requir'd or demanded by the Church too) while that most bountiful Devotion of good Christians continued in frequent Offerings, both of Lands and Goods, to such large Value; and this (as he observes) continued to the End of the Fourth Century, [Hist. of Tythes, Cap. 4. n. 2. p. 40.]* In the mean time, those Primitive Christians (we have seen) perform'd the thing itself, in as direct, and more eminent a Manner, (as they themselves relate it) than the true Church of God ever did, either before or since; and that by vertue of a Natural, Conscientious, and Evangelical Obligation lying upon them to do so, wherein the very Essence and Reason of the Duty (in the Sense of Modern Christians also) wholly does consist. But I have stay'd longer than was intended in this Digression: If S. Cyprian's

* See Selden's Review, annex'd to his *Hist. of Tythes*. c. 4. p. 462.

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Expression be something clear'd by it, 'tis all I design'd. I shall therefore leave this Subject, and close this Chapter together, and proceed to what follows in the learned *Enquiry* before me.

C H A P. VI.

Hitherto we have heard the proper Acts of the Clergy only; those peculiar to the *Laity* are consider'd next. He briefly mentions, *1st*, the Means of becoming Members of the Church, and then tells us what Powers and Actions the *Laity* exerted distinctly by themselves. No Controversy need be raised about the former: That Baptism makes Members of the Church, I think is agreed by all; (who own any) and that it gives a Right to all the peculiar Privileges of the Church, that is, to all the Spiritual Means of Grace and Salvation, in such Order as by Divine and Apostolical Institution they are administer'd in it, (till such time as they forfeit that Right by just Censures for their Faults) I take to be equally true. But our learned Author (in his latter Clause upon this Head) entitles his Lay-members to Powers and Privileges of another Nature: They had Power, he says, to *elect their Bishops*; and in case they prov'd scandalous, heretical, or Apostates from the Faith, to *depose* them too: And these Powers he makes so full and proper to *them*, that he reckons them among * the *discretive and particular*

* *Eng. p. 103.*

lar *Acts of the Laity*; insomuch that if they call'd in any particular Bishops, or a Synod of Bishops, to assist or concur with them in it, he || represents that as an Act of Modesty or Discretion only in them, and the Power entirely their own.

Now the Laity's *Electing Power* I have at large consider'd before, and referr the Reader to what I have offer'd there. Their *Deposing Power* (so far as 'tis maintain'd here) is wholly grounded upon a single Passage in the Answer of S. Cyprian and his *African Synod* to the Clergy and People of *Legio, Asturica, and Emerita* in Spain. The Case of which Churches, at that time, was this; their late Bishops, *Basilides* and *Martialis*, being notoriously convicted of Idolatry, Blasphemy, and other Crimes of the highest Nature, *Felix* and *Sabinus* were by a Synod of the Province constituted Bishops in their stead: The Ejected Bishops secretly apply'd themselves to *Stephen*, Bishop of *Rome*; who, knowing little of the Merits of the Cause, or over-forward (as 'tis most likely) to shew some Prerogative of his See, admits them into his Communion, and restores them to their Bishopricks, as far as his Power would go: Upon this, they return to their respective Churches, and claim a Right to their Sees again: The People meet with two great Difficulties in this Case;

First, Whether their old Bishops, being receiv'd now into Communion with an Orthodox Bishop of the Catholick Church, had not recover'd,

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cover'd,

cover'd, by that means, a Title to their own Churches; according to the Catholick Rule, that Communion with one Church, gave a Right of Communion with all: And,

Secondly, Whether it were warrantable for them (be their Claim never so good) to Communicate in all Holy Offices with such Idolatrous and Apostate Bishops, as *Basilides* and *Martialis* were certainly known to be.

For Satisfaction in these Points, as appears by the * Epistle, wherein the present Quotation lies; they write to a Provincial Synod in *Africa*, wherein *S. Cyprian* himself presided at that Time. The Synod, in answer to the first of their Scruples, flatly tells them, || that all which Pope *Stephen* had done through the deceitful Insinuations of their deprived Bishops, could not disannull the regular and just Ordination of their new ones, but that *Basilides* and *Martialis* were justly deposed, and the others duly ordain'd in their Room. And if we would know by what Power this Charge was made, *S. Cyprian* will satisfy us; who in express Terms † tells us,

* Cypr. Ep. 67. Edit. Oxon.

|| Nec rescindere ordinationem jure perfectam potest, quod Basilides — Stephanum collegam nostrum longe positum, & gestæ rei ac tacitæ veritatis ignarum fefellit, ut exambiret reponi se injustè in episcopatum, de quo fuerit justè depositus — sed nec Martiali potest profuisse fallacia — Cypr. Ep. 67.

† Quod & apud vos factum videmus in Sabini Collegæ nostri ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio, (and what that Suffragium means I have shewn before) & de Episcoporum, qui in præsentia convenerant — judicio, episcopatus ei deferretur, & manus ei in locum Basilidis imponeretur. Cypr. Ib. § 3.

us, that *Sabinus's Ordination into Basilides's See* was by the regular Authority of a Synod of Bishops, who met upon the Place for it; and surely *Felix's* Case must have been the same, since that was the known Catholick Practice in those Times and Places, and both those new Bishops were † sent by their respective Churches, to represent their common Case to the *African Synod*, and both recognized alike as Fellow-Bishops by them all. The Deposition therefore was over, and new Ordinations Synodically pass'd, before the People wrote to the *African Council* for any Advice in their Case, and all declared by the Council to be Just and Valid, and such as the Bishop of *Rome* could not disannull. What a groundless Imagination must it then be, to think that the Laity of those Churches should enquire any thing of that Synod about their *own* Deposing or Electing Power, when all of that Kind was over in a Synodical Way before, and that they themselves had approv'd of what was done? No! 'Tis plain enough, by the whole Tenor of the Council's Answer to them, that the two Queries above-mention'd were the Difficulties they wanted to be resolv'd in; and that the latter of them, relating to their joining in religious Offices with those Idolatrous Bishops, (supposing their Claim to be good) was directly referr'd to, and clearly answer'd by that very Quotation, which is here so unduly apply'd to a *Deposing Power*.

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† Legimus literas vestras, quas ad nos per Felicem & Sabinum Co-episcopos nostros pro fidei vestre integritate fecistis. Ib. § 1.

Power. The Circumstances they were in, explain the Thing; they had two Sorts of Competitors, claiming a Right of Ministry amongst them, the Deposed Idolaters (*Basilides* and *Martialis*) on the one hand, and the Orthodox Synodically ordain'd *Felix* and *Sabinus* on the other; neither of them of their own setting up, or putting down, but both by the Synodical Authority of the Province. Now, which of these Competitors they thought themselves obliged to Communicate with, the *African* Council told them, *they had a Liberty in that to choose and refuse*; which is just such a Power of making and deposing Bishops, as the *Israelites* had in that solemn Competition for the Priesthood in the Wilderness, when they separated themselves from *Corah* and his Usurping *Levites*, and kept close to *Aaron* their lawful High-Priest; and the *African* Synod ('tis plain) thought no otherwise of it; * for they make that very Comparison in this Place, and apply the Quotation here insisted upon immediately to it.

And however our learned Author came to strain this clear Passage to so very different a Sense, he himself was † Conscious, (we find) that at the Deposing of any Bishop, a Convention of Bishops was always present wherever it could be had; nay he confesses, the Deposing Power

* *Separamini, inquit, à tabernaculis hominum istorum, &c. propter quod plebs — à peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegii sacerdotis sacrificia miscere, quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi.* Cypr. lb.

† See Enq. p. 105.

Power is directly || ascribed to Synods by the Fathers of the Church ; and gives us remarkable Instances of it in the Cases of *Paulus Samosatenus*, and *Privatus* Bishop of *Lambese*, and might have added several more, even † where he had these. But all this Synodical Solemnity (in our Enquirer's Account of it) was only thro' the gracious Condescension of the humble People, who would not (tho' they might and could) do all, * by vertue of their own Power. This is a glorious Account of the honourable Use and great Power of the Sacred Synods of the Primitive Church ; they were to be ready at the Summons of any People, who thought it needful to change their Bishop ; and why ? That the Peoples Actions in it (says he) might be more *authentick* and *unquestionable* ; more *authentick* (it seems) tho' they themselves (he says) had full Authority to do it ; and less *questionable*, tho' the *African Council* had just before asserted, and that *flatly* too, (as his Words are, that is, *beyond all question, I think*) the Peoples Power to Depose : But farther, they allow'd the Synod to *examine* (says he) *their Complaints and Accusations* too ; and so they were Commissioners (besides) to examine Witnesses for them, and when that was done, *they might concur* (he says) *in the Deposition with them* ; and if they only *might* do so, then they *might not* too ; as this whole Hypothesis of his *Popular Power* implies it to be needless indeed. Thus the sacred Synods were to be Ornaments and Under-
Officers

|| Enq. Ib.

† Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 30. & Cypr. Ep. 55. § 11. Edit. Oxon.

* Enq. Ib. p. 105,

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Officers in this great Solemnity, whilst the *ver-*
nerable Court of Laity proceeded to depose their
 Bishop by their own inherent Right and Power,
 and chose another in his room: And which is
 stranger still, the Holy Fathers and Historians
 of these Times took a Liberty to tell the World,
 that Bishops in their Times were deposed by *Sy-*
nods of Bishops in the Church, (for so the learned
 Enquirer himself immediately shews us that they
 did) and in the very next Breath, unwarily
 owns also, that such a Provincial Synod was
 * *necessary* in the Election or Deposition of a Bi-
 shop, against the plain Sense of all that he had
 said before. Such pregnant Instances of the
discretive and particular Acts of the Laity (as our
 learned Author undertook to prove them) were
 these two important Privileges of *Deposing*, and
Electing Bishops for themselves.

The rest of this Chapter sets forth the admi-
 rable Discipline of the *Primitive Church*, in
 leading her *adult Converts* through all the Stages
 of *Catechetical Instruction*, till she fitted them for
 the Heavenly Blessing of her *Holy Baptism*: A
 Precedent! of Piety and Wisdom, fit for all
 Ages to set before their Eyes, in training up the
 younger and unexperienced Members of the
 Church, though not directly applicable (or ve-
 ry rarely at least in the Primitive and Original
 Use of it) to our own times; since most Chri-
 stians are baptiz'd in their Infancy now.

And yet, if we will distinguish justly here,
 (and I am sorry there should be need of *that*) be-
 tween *Constitution itself*, and *personal Neglects* of
 it;

it; between the pious *Laws, Orders and Canons*, of our most Holy Mother the Church of *England*, and the too-imperfect Executing of them indeed, by Her Sons at this Day; we must own that that faithful Parent of ours has not been wanting in making suitable Provision for a due Instruction of all the Tenderest, and more undisciplin'd Members of her Communion.

Her Care for her very Infant-Members, commences with the first Hour of their entring into Covenant with God: She requires *duly qualified* Sureties, as so many Spiritual Guardians for them (besides what God and Nature gives them in their Christian Parents) to look to their religious Education, as soon as the first-Seeds of Reason spring up in them. She conjures these (as a Charge then taken upon them, in the Presence of God and his Church) to see that they be forthwith taught, as soon as they be able to learn, the Nature and Importance of their Baptismal Vow, and all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to the saving of his Soul; dismissing them with her own fervent Addresses first to the Throne of Grace, that that Infant-Christian might lead the rest of its Life according to that Beginning: And not content with this, She † enjoins every Minister of Her's in their respective Parishes, to attend continually on this very Work; commanding them under Penalty of the highest Censures She can inflict, *to catechise* Children, Youth, and every ignorant Person within their Cure, upon every

† Vide Can. 59. Edit. A. D. 1604.

every Lord's - Day, and other Holy Festivals throughout the Year, till they become thoroughly instructed in all the Articles of the Christian Faith, in the Duty of Prayer, and all Practical Rules of a holy Life ; and that none may want it, She lays as strict an Obligation upon all those, to whom God, Nature, and Civil Laws, have given Authority over the Youth and Servants of their Families, and even upon the young and ignorant ones themselves too, as the Power of the Keys allows her, to use their respective Authority, and do their several Parts in carrying on this blessed Work, for the Good of them all ; that, if possible, no Soul might miscarry, or the Church be reproach'd, through the Ignorance or Immorality of any of her Members.

Thus far she goes in the first Stage of the excellent Primitive Discipline ; and before she allows them to be perfect Communicants with her, she commands Examination to be made of the Progress of these younger Members of hers in this Catechetical Discipline, and requires all who can give a good Account of it, to come and receive greater Helps of the holy Spirit, for their Establishment and Perseverance in Faith and a good Life, by the Sacred Rite of her solemn *Confirmation* ; and so gradually admits them into the highest Class of her blessed Children, by the Holy Eucharist at last.

Here is some visible Resemblance (an impartial Eye must see) of the incomparable Discipline of the purest Ages of the Church ; Copies of this Nature, we must expect, will fall short of their Originals ; and more and more so, by Distance of Time : But whatever our uncharitable

table Adversaries may say, 'tis a Comfort to see so fair a Draught of it preserv'd within our own National Constitution, to these very last and worst of Times: And if we look'd calmly *into Things*, instead of aggravating our Resentments against *Personal Abuses* of them, we should find our Holy Mother the Church has suffer'd more Reproaches from her Enemies, and from too many of her unnatural Children too, both in this, and many other Parts of her wise and pious Constitution, than she has ever deserv'd of them.

But to return to the *Enquiry* again, which after the extraordinary Account it has given us of the *peculiar Acts* and *special Powers* of the Laity of the Primitive Church, proceeds to treat next of the *conjunct Acts* of Clergy and Laity together; wherein the general Proposition is this, || *That all things belonging to the Government and Policy of the Church, were perform'd by their joint Consent and Administrations.* The People, on one hand, could do nothing (says he) without their Bishop, as S. Ignatius (he owns) affirms in general Terms; and seems satisfy'd, that in every Church it was so: But that the Bishops (on the other hand) could do nothing without their Peoples Consent, he offers nothing more to prove it here, than what I have shewn already is no Proof of Catholick Practice at all, and much less of Ecclesiastical Law for it; and that is, S. Cyprian's *private Purpose* again, to act in Concert with his Clergy and People in the chief Affairs of the Government of his Church; which as himself

ex-

explain'd it, and other cotemporary Witnesses (I have shewn) confirm'd it to us, was a voluntary Condescension of his own; and that he us'd their *Advice* and *Information* only in the Causes which came before him, and own'd no other Power or Authority in them, or was any ways obliged or bound to do so much as he did in it; and more than this need not be said here, till we meet with new Arguments upon this Head, which we must look for in the next Chapter.

C H A P. VII.

THE Constitution of the Primitive Church has been the general Subject of all that's gone before: The *Discipline* of it is to be consider'd now: 'Tis introduc'd with proper Observations of the Necessity, Nature, and admirable Advantages of it; about which there need be no Dispute: For that the Christian Church is a true *Society*, and has a Government annex'd to it as such; that 'tis a Spiritual one, and therefore her own proper Laws, Orders and Penalties, purely Spiritual too; that Admonitions, Excommunications, Suspensions, and the like (as our learned Author here observes) are peculiar Acts of this Spiritual Power, is readily agreed; and all the brightest Characters and glorious Encomiums, which from the elegant Pen of S. *Cyprian* are here transcribed, concerning the Usefulness, Excellency, and Necessity of this holy Discipline, are no more than what are due to it; for (to
use

use the Apostle's Words) *whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, or of good Report, if any Vertue or any Praise*; they all fade or flourish in Proportion to the Remisness of it; and may the respective Trustees or Stewards in the House of God, to whom any Part of this important Charge is committed, be ever mindful of it! Who they specially are, and in the Primitive Church were ever own'd to be, is the Question now before us.

Our learned Enquirer (you see) has just now told us, that the Clergy and Laity together have a Right to this Ecclesiastical Power, as in joint Commission with one another; *they were all Judges* (as he* here farther affirms) *in the Ecclesiastical Court*; insomuch that *they perform all things belonging to the Government and Policy of the Church, by their joint Consent and Administrations.*

His Fundamental Proof of this, is taken from such Interpretations, as he tells us some of the Primitive Fathers made of those two eminent Texts, where the *Power of the Keys* is expressly promis'd; namely, *Matt. xvi. 18, 19.* where they are promis'd to *S. Peter* only, *by Name*; and *Matt. xviii. 15, 16, 17, 18.* where in general Terms they seem to be given *to the Church*; and 'tis somewhat strange, that he takes no Notice of a third Text, where *this Power* was more solemnly promis'd, and by a sacred Symbol from the Mouth of the blessed *Jesus*, assured to those Persons, for whom it will appear (I think) it was

* See Enq. p. 112. § 3.

was peculiarly design'd : I mean, that Text in *S. John* xx. 21, 22, 23. where our Lord breathed on those Disciples, whom he then sent, as the Father had sent him, and that is surely the Apostles alone, (that very Mission confirming the Name and Title to them) saying, *Receive the Holy Ghost, whose-soever Sins ye remit, they are remitted to them, &c.* But I shall not interrupt our learned Enquirer's Method, on Account of this Omission here, but fairly state his Arguments in the Way he offers them to us.

This Power of the Keys, as promis'd to *S. Peter*, in *S. Matt.* xvi. 18, 19. he confesses (upon * *Origen's* Authority, truly quoted for it) the Bishops of the Primitive Church applied to themselves; and owns also, that very ancient Father allow'd it to be Orthodox in those Bishops to do so, so long as they held Peter's Confession, and were such as the Church of Christ might be built upon; and that is, (surely) so long as they were true and orthodox Bishops of the Catholick Church. But (what is more surprizing to me) † he tells us that *S. Cyprian* himself was of the same Opinion also; and quotes that very Passage for the Proof of it, which I have elsewhere cited from that Holy Martyr upon much the same Occasion; the Church (says *S. Cyprian*) || is founded upon the Bishops, by whom every Ecclesiastical Action is govern'd.

S. Cy-

* See Enq. p. 113. & Orig. Comment. in Matth. Tom. 12. p. 279. Vol. 1. Edit. Huetii, Rothomagi, 1668.

† Enq. p. 114.

|| Ecclesia super episcopos constituatur, & omnis actus Ecclesiae per eosdem praepositos gubernetur. *Cypr. Ep.* 27. Edit. Pamel. or Ep. 33. Edit. Oxon. § 1.

prian then thought just the same, it seems, as *Origen* did in this Matter; that the Orthodox Bishops might justly claim the Power of the Keys to themselves alone: Tho' others of the Ancients (as the Enquiry adds here) mention this Power as given to the *whole Church*, according to that in *S. Matt. xviii. 15, &c.*—And how clearly that appears, we shall quickly see.

But, in the mean time, here's a Truth acknowledg'd now; which, if earlier own'd, might have prevented a considerable Part of this *elaborate Enquiry*; for what numerous Quotations have we met with? and still shall meet with more, from the venerable *S. Cyprian's* Works, to prove, that not only Presbyters had a *Ruling Power* inherent in their Orders, in respect of Excommunications, Absolutions, and such-like manifest Acts of the sacred Power of the Keys; but that the *Laiety* also, as well as they, had a Share of *Legislative, Decretive, and Judicatorial* Power in the Consistory of the Church. And yet this very *S. Cyprian* himself is now declar'd to have been wholly of that Opinion; that the Bishops alone, by vertue of the Original Grant of the Keys to *S. Peter*, did in the Primitive Church justly appropriate all that Power to themselves. What can more directly confirm all that I have prov'd at large before in these several Particulars? namely, that whatever Part either Presbyters, Deacons, or People had, in any such Authoritative Acts of Discipline or Government in his Church; 'twas upon one or other of these two Accounts, either that *S. Cyprian* commission'd some amongst them, whose Character and Station made them

the properer Officers, in many Cases, to execute some Parts of Discipline, which he authentickly decreed to be done by vertue of the Power of the Keys invested in himself; or else, that he purely condescended (according to his humble Purpose at the first) to take Counsel, Information, and Advice only, from his Clergy and People, in all important Acts of his Administration: And if there had been more in it, he must have practis'd otherwise than his own Opinion of these Matters is here truly own'd to have been.

Thus far, then, the *Joint Administration* of Clergy and People, together with their Bishop, in the Government of the Church, is set aside by *Origen* and *S. Cyprian's* Interpretations of the Original Promise to *S. Peter*; (as to any Power the two former were entitl'd to by it) *from which Promise and Commission* (as our learned Enquirer † owns) *all Power that any Church-Court exerted, was derived.*

What is offer'd then to balance such Evidence and Authority as this? Why! others of the Ancients (says our learned Author) mention this Power as given to the *whole Church*, according to that in *S. Matt. xviii. 17, 18. Tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a Heathen and Publican: Verily I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, &c.* By the Church here, (says he) *is to be understood the whole Body of a particular Church, or Parish, unto which* some

† See Enq. p. 113.

some of the Fathers attribute the Power of the Keys. And yet 'tis remarkable, that neither of the two Fathers he produces to prove it, argue upon this Text at all, but from the two others I have mention'd before; the one from the Grant to S. Peter, in *Matt. xvi. 19.* the other from S. John, *xx. 21, &c.* But let us hear their Evidence: *Tertullian's* (so far as the Enquirer is pleas'd to give it us) is this: * *If thou fearest Heaven to be shut, remember the Lord gave its Keys to Peter, and by him to the Church.* The rest of the Sentence is; *which Keys, every one who is brought to the Question here, and confesses [Christ,] will carry along with him.* If our Author had thought fit to give us this Period entire, and the Occasion of it too, we should have needed little more to understand what *Tertullian* meant: For in what Sense do we imagine this penetrating Father should say, that the Keys given to *Peter* were thereby given to the Church; so that every Martyr, or Confessor in it, should carry them to Heaven with them? Was it in such a Sense, do we think, as 'tis here requir'd to be taken in? namely, that they should exercise an Ecclesiastical Discipline with them? By that Construction we might as well conclude, that they were to continue such a Discipline in the other World still: No! the plain Occasion of the Words will expound them clearly for us; he

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was

* Si adhuc clausum putas cœlum, memento claves ejus hic Dominus Petro, & per eum Ecclesiæ reliquisse, quas hic unusquisq; interrogatus atq; confessus feret secum. *Tertul. Scorpiac. p. 628. Rigalt. Edit. secunda, Lutet. 1641.*

was arguing against Hereticks, * who held it needless for persecuted Christians to confess Christ on Earth; 'twas enough, they said, to confess him hereafter in Heaven. *Tertullian* † replies, there's no coming thither, unless first approv'd here; no Occasion for such Trial there, where no Persecution can be; no fanciful Porters, as the Chimerical Pagans dream, to stop a Christian's Coming in; Christ had open'd Heaven for every true Christian by his own Entrance thither: Or if you think that Heaven is shut still, (says he) remember the Lord left the Keys to Peter, and by him to the Church, which every one who is brought to the Trial here, and confesses Christ, will carry along with him. Here's a manifest Advantage declar'd indeed to every Member of the Church by the Grant of the Keys to *S. Peter*, and of such a Nature, that, if they made a right Use of it, would help them all to Heaven, in reference, no doubt, to our Saviour's Words at the first Delivery of them, that whatsoever should be bound or loosed on Earth by these Keys, should be bound or loosed in Heaven; which is a clear Comment on *Tertullian's* Words here, and implies, that the Keys were so given to all the Church in general, that if they made that Advantage of them which was intended for them, by duly fitting themselves for the Holy Absolution appointed to be administer'd by them, they would find that comfortable Sentence ratify'd above; and, peradventure, the

Vertue

* Adseverat diabolus illic consistendum, ut suadeat hic negandum. *Tert. ib.*

† Ib. p. 627.

Vertue of that Grant should extend farther to Martyrs and Confessors, through their very Confession alone, (where no more was to be had) as the common Opinion of the Ancients was. This comes up, I think, to the Sense of *Tertullian's* whole Period, but makes out no particular Persons; and much less the whole Church, as entitled to the present Power of those Keys, but only that such an universal Blessing accrued to the Church by them, and to every Member of it, who would fit themselves for that Benefit of them.

Firmilian, Bishop of *Casarea* in *Cappadocia*, is join'd with *Tertullian*, as another of the Ancients, who understood this *Promise of the Keys* to be made to the whole Church. This venerable Father was arguing (pretty warmly indeed) against *Stephen*, Bishop of *Rome*, for allowing, that Remission of Sins could be given within the *Synagogues of Hereticks*, (as his own Words are) that is, amongst such as were out of the Catholic Church, urging those two eminent Texts to prove the contrary: First, * that 'twas Peter alone, to whom Christ said, *Whatsoever thou shalt bind in Earth, shall be bound in Heaven*; [Matt. xvi. 19.] and afterwards, 'twas the *Apostles alone*, upon whom he breathed and gave the same Power; [Joh. xx. 22, 23.] and therefore concludes, in the Quotation here insisted upon,

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That

* Qualis error sit, & quanta sit cæcitas ejus, qui remissionem peccatorum dicit apud synagogas hæreticorum dari posse. *Apud Cypr. Ep. 75. Edit. Oxon. § 9.*

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|| *That the Power of Forgiving Sins was given to the Apostles, and to the Churches which they planted, and to the Bishops who succeeded them, by being ordain'd into their Places.* Now, one would be apt to ask this plain Question here; Why did *Fir-milian* so distinctly say this Power of the Keys was given *to the Bishops*, when he had said, but just before, it was given *to the Churches*? Were these Bishops no Part of the Churches? Were they not included in them? Or had his Argument been any ways more imperfect without that special Addition, who was only proving that Remission of Sins was peculiarly and solely within the Churches, and had no need to prove more? The least I can conceive of it is this, that the Keys (in his Opinion) were given *to the Churches* in one Sense, and *to the Bishops* in another; else 'twas rather Tautology, than Propriety of Speaking, to have distinguish'd the Grant so. And if we nearly consider the Holy Father's Period entire as it is, and observe the Application he was to make of it there, we shall see a very different Nature of Grant affirm'd by him; and discover plainly too, where that Difference lies. *The Power of remitting Sins* (says he) *was given to the Apostles*, and, as the sacred Text speaks, (from whence he just then prov'd it to be so) * 'twas *the Apostles alone*, and that was, doubtless, without any Joint-Commission to

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|| *Potestas ergo peccatorum remittendorum Apostolis data est, & Ecclesiis, quas illi à Christo missi constituerunt, & Episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicaria successerunt.* Ibid.

* *In solos Apostolos insufflavit Christus, dicens.* Ibid.

Apostles and Brethren together; and then in the same Breath, he tells us, that 'twas *given to the Bishops as their Successors, by a Vicarious Ordination*: What was this less, than in plain Terms to say, that the Bishops were ordain'd to enter upon the Apostles Title and Possession of that Power he was then speaking of, and to hold it in such a Manner as they themselves had held it? so far (I think) *Firmilian's* own Period explains itself. But what did the Holy Bishop mean, (you'll say) when in the intermediate Comma he tells us, that the *Power was given to the Churches which the Apostles constituted*? The Subject he was upon as clearly explains this Clause, as his own Words did the other. He was to prove against Pope *Stephen*, that Baptism without the Pale of the Church was of no Force, because Remission of Sins was only to be had within it. Now, having only prov'd, by the other two Clauses of this Period, that the Apostles first, and Bishops after them, were in sole and full Possession of that Power within the Churches: This did not undeniably prove yet, but that some one or more of those Bishops, being either by just Censure or voluntary Separation, remov'd out of their Churches, might exercise all their Ministry still, with as good Effect as before; and so Remission of Sins might by their means be had as well *without* as *within*: Now, to obviate such Exceptions as these, and to make his Argument every way perfect, he adds this Clause, *That the Power was given to the Churches, that is, so peculiarly to them, and them only, that none could either validly use or exercise that Power, if once they were gone out*

of them, or any receive any Fruit or Benefit of it, but from the Hands of such as were in them; and this comes up in every Point to the Argument he was upon, against the Validity of Heretical Baptism. And that this Construction of the whole Period agrees with the Sense, and Language too, of this very *Firmilian* himself, upon a like Occasion, will evidently appear; by repeating only a Quotation from him out of this very Epistle, which we met with some time since in * the *Enquiry* now before us. † *All Power and Grace* (says *Firmilian*) *is constituted in the Church, where Elders preside, who possess the Power of Baptizing and Laying on of Hands, and Ordaining.* Here *all Power* is at large said to be in the Church, (an Expression every way equivalent to what we dispute of now in this very Quotation) and then immediately 'tis added, that *Elders preside there, who possess the Power of Baptizing, Laying on of Hands, and Ordaining*; and doubtless had *Firmilian's* Argument required it there, he had gone on and prov'd that Possession of Power to have been in the same Elders in respect of any other Act of Government or Discipline besides; for the Reason had been the same, and the Limitation of *all Power* in that Manner imports no less. Now, that those *Presiding Elders* were true and proper Bishops, I have prov'd at large before,

* See Enq. p. 61.

† *Omnis potestas & gratia in Ecclesiâ constituta sit, ubi præsident majores nati, qui & baptizandi & manum imponendi & ordinandi possident potestatem.* Ep. 75. ut supra.

fore, tho' so much is not required here, since it unquestionably proves these two Things :

First, That tho' all Power was absolutely said to be in the Church, in general Terms, yet the *Possession* of it, and that is, I think, the *very Power itself*, was in particular Hands only : And,

Secondly, That they were *Presiding Elders* only, and that is, in our Enquirer's own Application of it above, they were *Clerical Presbyters* at least, and consequently the Lay-Brethren (in *Firmilian's* Opinion) had no Share of it ; and therefore upon the whole Matter, this latter Quotation (I conceive) does no ways prove the Thing it was brought for.

To sum up this present Argument then, *Origen* and *S. Cyprian* did unquestionably own, that true Bishops in the Primitive Church appropriated the *Power of the Keys* to themselves, and that warrantably and orthodoxly too : *Tertullian* and *Firmilian*, the two only Fathers here quoted to entitle *all the Brethren* to a joint Interest in them, appear to have meant no such thing, in those Passages of their Works, which this learned Author had so carefully sifted out for it ; and therefore I may leave the Reader to judge, from what groundless and unfair Premises he has drawn this Fundamental Inference, (upon which all that follows in this Chapter depends) namely, * that the *Power of the Keys* was so lodg'd both in Bishops and People, that each had some Share in it ; and (as he distributes it) the *Legislative, De-*
cretive,

* See Enq. p. 115.

cretive, or Judicatorial Power, was held in common between Clergy and Laity; and the formal Executive Power only (consisting meerly in pronouncing Sentence, or the empty Ceremony of Imposing Hands) was allow'd peculiar to the Clergy. How he has prov'd Antiquity to agree with him in all this, you have seen already; for this General Thesis of his has no other of the Ancients to vouch for it, than what you have heard just now. Some Particulars follow, for better Security to the Lay-Brethren, of their Share in this common Stock of Ecclesiastical Power, which 'twill be expected I should consider in Order as they lie.

First, then, that the Laity were Judges and Sharers with the Clergy in the Judicial Power of the Spiritual Court, he tells us, does most evidently appear from what he reads in † Clemens Romanus's First Epistle to the Corinthians. I shall briefly state the Subject that Holy Father was upon, and then recite the Words of this Quotation. The Church of Corinth was fallen into a miserable Faction: * A few giddy and audacious Men had stirred up the meaner Sort against their Betters; a Crew of vile and ignorant Wretches (as the Holy Father styles them) had got a Head against the Men of Wisdom and Reputation in the Church, and were for turning out the Presbyters, || who had been
duly

† Enq. p. 116.

* Ολίγα πρόσωπα προέβη καὶ ἀνθάδῃ — ἐπηγέρθησαν οἱ ἄτιμοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπίσκοποις, οἱ ἀδόξοι ἐπὶ τοῖς δοξοῦσι, οἱ ἀφρονεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς φρονίμοις. Clem. Epist. ad Corinth. prima, p. 2. & p. 3. Edit. Oxon. 1633.

|| Ἐνίς ὑμῶν μεληγάγει καλῶς πολίδορμος ἐν τῇ ἀμέμπτῳ αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης λειτουργίας. Ib. p. 58.

the Primitive Church, &c. 283

duly placed over them, and had faithfully discharged their Ministry amongst them. The peaceful Clement affectionately bewails this; exhorts the Heads of those Seditions to Peace, Humility, and Charity, with an Apostolick Spirit indeed; (for many Pages together) conjures them to prefer the publick Interest before their own; and, in the end, goes so far, as to * recommend the great Example of *Moses* to them, that as that meekest Saint on Earth had consented that his Name should be blotted out of the Book of God, rather than the People who had sinn'd so presumptuously against him, should be consumed by him: So he advises the unhappy Authors of that fatal Faction, to imitate (if possible) † this Superlative Perfection, and wishes each of them, singly for himself, to make this Heroick Declaration in the Audience of all: § *If this Sedition, Strife, Schisms, are upon the Account of me, I withdraw, I go whither you will, and am ready to do whatsoever the [τὸ πλῆθος,] the Multitude, the Majority, the People, [English it as you please] shall order to be done; so the Flock of Christ may live in Peace with the Presbyters who are set over them.* Now the τὰ προσαυρόμυα ὑπὸ τῆς πλήθους here, that is, the Conditions this incensed Multitude would insist upon in this Case, (how unreasonable soever) before they would be quiet, our learned

* Ib. p. 68, 69.

† Ἀνυπερβλήτου τελειότητι. Ib.

§ Εἰ δι' ἐμέ γάσις, καὶ εἰς, καὶ σχίσματα, ἐκχωρῶ, ἀπεμι, ἢ ἐὰν βέληθε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προσαυρόμυα ὑπὸ τῆς πλήθους· μόνον τὸ ποίμνιον τῆς Χρῆστος ἐρηναίεται μετ' ἡμῶν καθεσαυρόνων πρεσβυτέρων. Ib.

learned Author offers to us as an Act or Precept of a regular Power invested in them; and that all who loved Peace in that Church were obliged to do what they thus required to be done; for he quotes these Words *alone*, as a Proof of the People's Authority in a Consistorial Capacity: And methinks, if this be so, then in the Example which the Holy Father here proposes for their Imitation, it must be taken for no more than an Account of Justice and Duty in Holy *Moses*, to consent to have his Name blotted out of the Book of God, to save the wicked *Israelites* from a just Punishment of their Sin; for to me the Comparison plainly seems to lie there, and to import no less. Besides, I can't but take Notice that the Word [τλῆθος] in this Place is a very extraordinary Term to express the Laity of any Church by, in Contradistinction to the Clergy of it, and much less the Laity in Consistorial Council together, as the Application of it here must imply. I am sure, 'tis the very same Word that *Clement* expresses the Idolatrous Rebels by, in the Case of *Moses's* Controversy with them just before; and I am apt to think 'twould be no Hardship upon them to translate it a *tumultuous Multitude or Rabble*, in the Circumstances we find it here, and much more agreeable to the vile and sordid Character which *Clement* himself (you see) gave us of them just before.

After this *evident Proof* (as the Enquiry calls it) from *Clement's* Epistle, the Subject runs low, and seems to be exhausted. For to † tell us that

that *Origen* describes a Criminal as appearing before the whole Church or Congregation; and that *Dionysius of Alexandria* should say the like of *Serapion*, and that no one ever took any Notice of him, is such a singular Way of proving, that all Persons present sat with a *Judicial Authority* in the Church, as would make every individual Person (even Women or Children) a *Magistrate*, who in any Capacity were a proper Member of either Sacred or Civil Assemblies. The Force of such Arguing, (if there be any Force in it) has been at large consider'd upon sundry Occasions before, especially in the Second Chapter; and therefore I may leave it as I find it here.

All the rest upon this Head are only Quotations from *S. Cyprian* again, whom he * affirms to be more full in this Matter, (of the *Judicial Power of the Laity* in the Spiritual Court) than any he has named before. And who can help observing here?

What a Paradox it is in this learned Author to bring *S. Cyprian's* Authority for a *Popular Jurisdiction* in the Church, when he had so freely own'd but || just before, that *Cyprian* was of *Origen's* Opinion about the *Power of the Keys*? Both agreeing, that *Primitive Bishops* appropriated the Grant of them to themselves, and were very *Orthodox* in doing so. From whence it must follow also, in the second place, that no Personal Condescensions in *S. Cyprian's* Practice (upon which the Enquirer's Arguments all along run) can amount

* Enq. p. 116.

|| Enq. p. 114.

mount to any Proof in this Matter before us, unless we will make the Self-consistent Martyr not to believe and act alike; which is very hard indeed.

And yet, since two or three Passages in that eminent Father's Writings are offer'd to us (after this) with a peculiar Air of Plausibility in them, I'll fairly represent them, before I leave the Subject.

First, then, we are† told of the great Difficulties S. Cyprian had to win his People's Consent to the Absolution of some penitent Schismatics; and, 'tis true, he had a very affectionate Conflict with them in the Case; but for what? Was it to gain their *Authoritative Vote* as *Fellow-Judges* with him, and without whose Concurrence he could not do it? (as is here pretended.) Three or four Particulars in S. Cyprian's Relation of it sufficiently shew the contrary. 1st, He calls it their *Patience* in the Case, which he had so much Trouble to persuade them to, (as the Enquirer's Quotation, noted in the Margin, shews) which is a very extraordinary Word indeed, to express an *Authoritative Suffrage* by. 2^{dly}, In the foregoing Paragraph, S. Cyprian tells Cornelius, that
the

† *Enq. p. 118.* O si posses, frater charissime, isthic interesse nobiscum, cum pravi isti & perversi de schismate revertuntur, videres quis mihi labor sit persuadere patientiam fratribus nostris, ut animi dolore sopito recipiendis malis curandisq; consentiant: Vix plebi persuadeo, imò extorqueo, ut tales patiantur admitti. Cyp. Ep. 55. § 17. *Edit. Pamcl. vel Ep. 59. Edit. Oxon.*

* the People were so much against the Restoring of some of the more Profligate Schismatics, that for fear of Scandal, and endangering others by it, he was put to it to know who should, or should not, be admitted into the Church; and farther adds, † he should be no profitable or well-advis'd Pastor, who should so mingle the infected Sheep with the Flock, as to grieve the whole Flock with a Resentment of so much Evil amongst them. From whence 'tis plain, not only, that Point of Scandal was the great Controversy betwixt him and his People; but also, that 'twas a single Pastor's Act and Deed which might occasion or prevent that Scandal; sufficiently intimating to us, that that single Pastor had the Power of receiving or keeping out such exceptionable Schismatics from the Communion of the Church; and this directly spoken with reference to himself. But,

3dly, And lastly, (to make all clearer still) S. Cyprian farther tells Cornelius, in the same Paragraph where this Quotation lies, that || he had actually absolv'd one and another of those Schismatics thro' his own Tenderness to them, tho' the People stiffly withstood and contradicted him in it; which shews
suf-

* Nobis sollicitè examinantibus qui recipi & admitti ad Ecclesiam debent; quibusdam enim ita crimina sua obstant, aut fratres obstinatè & firmiter renituntur, ut recipi omnino non possunt, [nisi] cum scandalo & periculo multorum. *Ib.* § 16.

† Nec utilis aut consultus est pastor qui ita morbidus & contactas oves gregi admiscet, ut gregem totum mali coherentis afflictatione contaminaret. *Ibid.*

|| Unus atq; alius, obnitente plebe & contradicente, mea tamen facilitate suscepti. *Ib.*

sufficiently what he knew he might have done to all the rest.

Weigh these few Circumstances together, and judge if it were an *Authoritative Consent* which S. Cyprian wanted of his People. The whole Case suits his settled Resolution indeed, of Tenderness and Condescension to his Diocese, but does not in the least impair the Fulness of his Power.

Secondly, We are * told again, that the Clerical Presbytery (as being more at leisure than the rest) prepar'd Matters for the Court, wherein the Clergy and Laity together were to pass Sentence at last. The Proof is thus: Some eminent Schismatics of Novatian's Party, begg'd to be admitted to Communion with Cornelius again; that Holy Bishop || (having been personally apply'd to before, and thoroughly instructed in the Case) was pleas'd to call his Presbyters together to consult about it; and when he, and they, and five Bishops more with them, had concerted that Matter there, and (as the next Sentence, wherein the Quotation lies, does imply) had absolutely agreed that those Penitent Schismatics should be admitted to Communion again; then says † Cornelius, what follow'd was, that all which
had

* Enq. p. 119.

|| *Omni actu ad me perlato placuit contrahi presbyterium, adfuerunt etiam quinq; Episcopi.*

† *Quod erat consequens, omnis hic actus populo fuerat innuandus, [so far the Enquiry quotes, and leaves out this] ut & ipsos viderent in Ecclesia constitutos, quos errantes & palabundos jam diu viderant & dolebant. Apud Cypr. Ep. 49. Edit. Oxon.*

had been done should be notified to the People; and why was it to be notified to them? *Cornelius* is not wanting to add the Reason for it, *that they might see those very Persons* (says he) *establiſh'd in the Church again, whom they had a long time ſeen as ſorlorn Vagabonds before, and had lamented their Condition.* Judge you, if this Matter had not been thoroughly agreed upon before this; and whether *Cornelius* would have ſpoken thus of the People, if he had wanted their *Authoritative Conſent* to receive the Criminals into his Church; and accordingly, when a great Concourse of the People appear'd upon this Notice of the Matter, an univerſal Joy and Praise to God enſued upon it, with Tears and mutual Embracing of the Brethren, which in his Language indeed (as I have * *elsewhere* evidently prov'd, I think) he call'd an [*ingens populi Suffragium*] in the Cloſe of this Relation; that was, *their joyſul Approbation of the Reſtitution of them*; and excluſively of any Act of the People at all, he ſays, in the ſame Breath, † *we commanded Maximus the Preſbyter to take his Place again.*

Now, when our learned Author had *thus* ſettled (as you have ſeen) an equal Share of *Legiſlative, Decretive, or Judicatorial Power* in the Laity of the Church: The next thing was to ſhew the *Manner* of their executing this Power in the ſolemn Acts of publick Diſcipline. To which Purpose he has ſet before us the ordinary

U Form

† Chap. iii. p. 143. *ſupra.*

* *Maximum preſbyterum locum ſuum agnoſcere juſſi. ibi; Ceteros cum ingenti populi ſuffragio recepimus. Ib.*

Form of an *Ecclesiastical Consistory* in the Primitive Church; wherein, had he assign'd to the several Members of it their respective Offices and Powers, as ingeniously as he had represented the Thing, we should have found indeed a general Scheme of admirable Discipline for preventing any long Infection of *Vice or Heresie* in the Church of God. But one would wonder to see what strain'd Constructions he has made of a few plain Passages in *S. Cyprian* again, to secure to the Laity of the Churches their pretended Share in the Administration of that Discipline.

Censure, and Absolution of Criminals, are without doubt the two principal Acts of Ecclesiastical Discipline; and to prove, that *Censures* pass'd by the Votes and Suffrages of the People, as well as of any of the Clergy in the Church, he tells * us, *S. Cyprian* writes thus; *Whoever was excommunicated, 'twas by the Divine Suffrages of the People.* The Original Words he quotes, are in an Epistle to his People indeed; but so miserably pointed, so mistranslated and misapply'd here, that (to speak the Truth) I am surprized at it. *S. Cyprian* wrote to his People a zealous Letter against the Schismatical Presbyters who had sided with *Feliciſſimus*; telling them that || by God's

Provi-

* *Enq. p. 121. Secundum vestra divina suffragia conjurati. Ep. 40. ad plebem. Edit. Pamel. vel Ep. 43. Edit. Oxon. § 1.*

|| De Dei providentia, nobis nec volentibus, nec op-
tantibus, imò & ignoscentibus & tacentibus, poenas quas
meruerant rependerunt, ut à nobis non ejeti ultro se
ejicerent ipsi in se pro conscientia sua sententiam darent,
secundum vestra divina suffragia, conjurati & scelerati
de Ecclesia sponte se pellerent.

Providence they had met with the Punishment they deserv'd; for without my Knowledge (says he) and beyond what I wish'd, and even whilst I said nothing, and excus'd their Fault, those confederate and wicked Wretches, (says he) not cast out by us, have of their own accord turn'd out themselves; convicted in their own Conscience, they pronounc'd their own Sentence, according to your Divine Suffrages. What can be plainer here, than this? That neither S. Cyprian, nor his Clergy, nor his People, had any hand in this extraordinary Excommunication. 'Twas the Schismatics own Act and Deed, by a voluntary Separation, and nothing more in it. But what mean those Words of the Holy Bishop (you'll say then) according to your Divine Suffrages? They plainly mean, as I just now said, (and have prov'd before) what this Word *Suffrage* does almost always signify in this Holy Father's Language; namely, that those Self-condemning Schismatics had done what the People very well approved of, and liked it should be so. What sort of Translation therefore this learned Author gave us of this Passage, and what a groundless Application he made of it, I conceive is pretty clear; and how unintelligibly 'tis pointed also, to countenance that Application of it, the Reader may see, by comparing the Enquirer's small Clause of it, with the entire Transcript of the whole Period, which I have join'd together in the Margin.

This is all the Authority offer'd for the People's Judicial Power in the Censures of the Primitive Church. But then,

Secondly, To prove they could loose, as well as bind, he * assures us, the Penitents apply'd themselves to this Ecclesiastical Court of his for their Absolution. For, S. Cyprian (he finds) amongst other things tells us, that the † Life and Demeanour of the Penitent was to be look'd into, (before he was absolv'd) and therefore concludes, it needs must be, that the Penitent Offender went to beg his Absolution of the Consistory; and if that Clause, or any Context in the Place where it is, warrants such a Conclusion as that, I must own 'tis a Way of Reasoning I cannot comprehend; and therefore shall leave it to the more judicious Reader to make the most of it he can.

And by the same Way of Reasoning again, he supports all those positive and important Assertions of his, relating to this Matter; namely, that the joint Assembly of all the Laity and Clergy in the Church had the proper Right of || judging the Sufficiency or Insufficiency of a censur'd Person's Repentance; the Right of § admitting him by degrees into Part, or a full Communion with the Church; the Right of † continuing Offenders for a longer or shorter Time in the Penitentiary Station, and lastly a full Right or Power * to assail or absolve them; inso-

much

* Enq. p. 130.

† Inspectâ vitâ ejus qui agit pœnitentiam. *Cypr. Ep.*
12. Edit. Pamel. or Ep. 17. Edit. Oxon. § 1.

|| Enq. p. 126.

§ Ibid.

† Pag. 129.

* Pag. 130.

much that the Imposition of the Bishop's and Clergy's Hands upon them, was a * meer *Declarative Act*, and no more than a barren *Form* of admitting them to the Church's Peace. Now, not to trouble the Reader with a Repetition of what has so largely been clear'd before, concerning the Use *S. Cyprian* made both of his Clergy and People, as well in all Causes within his own Private Consistory, as in that eminent Council for Trial of the Lapsed Brethren (from whence all that is offer'd from him, upon these several Points, is taken and misapply'd again) I shall, once for all, shew how very different that Holy Father's Judgment was from that of this *learned Enquirer*, in relation to all the main Points he here quotes him for. And,

First, The Enquiry || tells us, that *both Clergy and Laity were all of them Judges in the Ecclesiastical Court*, and § that *the People as well as the Bishops had each of them a Negative Voice*. † *S. Cyprian* as expressly says, *there is but one Judge in the Church at a time, as Christ's Vicegerent there*.

Secondly, The Enquiry * tells us, the Consistory Court did † *actually assail or absolve the Penitent*. *S. Cyprian* says, *Absolution was a Remission of Sins effected by the Priests, and acceptable to God*.

U 3

Thirdly,

* Enquiry. p. 133.

|| Enq. p. 112, 113.

§ Pag. 117.

† *Unus in Ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, & ad tempus iudex vice Christi.* Ep. 59. § 5. Edit. Oxon.

* Enq. p. 130.

† *Remissio facta per sacerdotes apud Dominum gratia est.* Cypr. de Lapsis. p. 134. Edit. Oxon.

Thirdly, The Enquiry * says, that *Imposition of Hands by the Bishops and Clergy, was a meer formal Ceremony, Declarative only of an Absolution pass'd by the Consistory.* S. Cyprian says, † *The Hand of the Priest conduced to the purging of the Conscience;* and where he describes the whole Course of a censur'd Person's Recovery, || *if he repents, (says he) does good Works, and prays to God for it, God can pardon such an one, and what the Martyrs should request, and the Priests should do for such Persons, might be accepted of him.*

Fourthly, Whereas the Enquiry * says, that *his Ecclesiastical Court was to judge of the Reality of a censur'd Person's Repentance, and according to their Will and Pleasure they were to continue a longer or shorter time in the Penitentiary Station;* S. Cyprian † says, *it was the peculiar Part or Province of the Governors of the Church (exclusive of the Lay-Brethren, to be sure) to order ignorant or over-hasty Penitents in that Matter;* for to grant them (says he) *those things which would turn to their Destruction, (that is, for those Governors to permit*

* Pag. 133.

† Ante purgatam conscientiam sacrificio & manu sacerdotis, pacem putant esse. — *De Lapsis*, p. 128.

|| Pœnitenti, operanti, roganti, potest clementer ignoscere (Deus,) potest in acceptum referre quicquid pro talibus & petierint martyres, & fecerint sacerdotes, *Ib.* p. 138.

* Enq. p. 126, & 129.

† *Præpositorum est, properantes vel ignorantes instruere, ne qui ovium pastores esse debent, lanii fiant; ea enim concedere, quæ in perniciem vertant, decipere est.* Ep. 15. *Edit. Oxon.*

mit them to be absolv'd before they judg'd they were fit for it) *would be plainly to deceive them, and they would be rather Butchers than Pastors of the Sheep.* The Office of ordering their Absolutions sooner or later, and the Guilt of an over-hasty Absolution, is fasten'd (you see) upon the Governors or Pastors of the Church alone; where must we think then the Power lay? And agreeable to this, when the Martyrs were importunate to have some Lapsed Brethren absolv'd who were unqualify'd for it, S. Cyprian argues, † They could not put the Bishops upon doing that which was against the Command of God. Why, put the *Bishops only* upon it? How is the whole Consistory forgot in such an important Act of their Power as this? Sure, if they had had a Negative, and it had been done amiss, the Guilt as well as Power would have been shared amongst them, and they would not have been over-look'd. But,

*Fifthly, and lastly, S. Cyprian assures us, that his own Presbyters sent to him alone for his Authoritative Order, upon the like Occasion with this; for so the Forma (as the Holy Bishop calls it) plainly does imply; which he immediately explains thus: * You desired a Form (says he) of me,*

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in

† Ut ab Episcopis contra mandatum Dei fiat, auctores esse non possunt.

* Significastis quosdam immoderatos esse, & communicationem accipiendam festinanter urgere; & desiderastis in hac re *formam* à me vobis dare: Satis plene scripsisse me ad hanc rem proximis literis ad vos factis credo, ut qui libellum acceperunt, &c. — manu eis in poenitentia à vobis imposita — cum pace — ad Dominum remittantur. Ep. 19.

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in relation to some Lapsed Brethren, who were very pressing with you to be speedily absolv'd; I wrote my Mind very fully (I think) upon that Matter, in my last Letters to you; and then proceeds to tell them the Contents of them, which was no less than a positive Authority and Order for them to act by, in absolving some, (on such Conditions as he there prescribed) and leaving others as they were, till publick Peace should be restored again.

Endless were Quotations from that excellent Father upon these Heads. What Part he allow'd the Lay-Brethren of the Church in each of them, I leave the World to judge from the few I have produced here, and only hope and pray that Truth will clear itself at last, (on whichever Side it lies) and be impartially embraced by all the Lovers of it.

C H A P. VIII.

WE have heard, at large, the excellent Discipline of the Primitive Church: Our learned Author makes this Remark upon it here, *That all those Judicial Acts were exerted in and by every single Parish; which being wholly grounded upon his own precarious Principle, that a Primitive Church, or Diocese, and a Modern Parish, or Congregation, were one and the same Thing, I shall referr the Reader to what I have said * before in answer to that unwarrantable*

* Vide *suprà* Cap. ii.

warrantable Notion of *Congregational Dioceses*, and only confirm the Authorities, then produced against it, with one single Instance here; which I take to be a clear Proof (tho' nothing had been said before) against that whole Hypothesis, and the present Observation from it.

The Instance is this: † *Nepos*, a Bishop in *Egypt*, had corrupted most of the Christians about him with the erroneous Doctrine of the *Millenaries*: *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, goes into that Region of *Egypt*, call'd *Arsinoe*, where he had done that Mischief, and (*Nepos* himself being lately dead) summon'd in the *Presbyters* and *Teachers* of the Brethren in the several Villages there, together with as many of the Brethren as were willing to come, to hold a solemn Conference and publick Disputation upon that Subject; and after three Days reasoning with them, happily brought them off from their mistaken Opinions.

Now, who (do we think) were these *Presbyters* and *Teachers* of the Brethren in the several Villages there, summon'd in by *Dionysius* upon this Occasion? And in what Capacity did they exercise their Ministry in teaching the Brethren committed to their Care? Not as Supreme Pastors over the several Congregations of them; for *Dionysius* himself, and the whole Catholick Church in that Age, ever distinguish'd such Pastors by the proper Name and Title of *Bishops*; and accordingly the late de-

ceas'd

† Ἐν ταῖς Ἀρσινόειται χυρόμυθι, ἔνθα πρὸ πολλῶν τῶν ἐπιπολάζοντων δόγμα — συγκαλέσας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διδασκάλους καὶ ἐν ταῖς κώμας ἀδελφῶν, παρόντων καὶ τῶν βυλομύων ἀδελφῶν, δημοσίᾳ τῶν ἐξέτασιν ποιήσασθαι τῶν λόγων περὶ τῆς ἀλήθειας. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 24.

ceas'd *Nepos* is * so styled here. If they were not Village-Curates therefore, instituted and deputed to their respective Cures there by the Bishop of the Neighbouring City of *Arsinoe*, (and possibly of some others in that Province too) these Congregations, or religious Assemblies of Christians under Teaching Ministers, were Members of no Church at all; for, without a Bishop, (all agree) they could not be so; and that *Dionysius* (and *Ensebius* with him) should call Bishops by the Name of *Presbyters and Teachers of the Brethren in Villages and Hamlets up and down the Country*, is what no Modest Antiquary (I verily believe) will affirm. It remains therefore, that they must have been *Congregational Parishes* relating to some Mother-Church, where their Bishop resided; and consequently no one of them was an entire particular Church in the Sense of Antiquity, or could exercise Judicial Acts of Ecclesiastical Discipline within themselves; for *S. Ignatius's* Maxim is own'd by this learned Enquirer § himself, and by all the Ancients with him, *that without the Bishop 'twas not lawful to do any Thing.*

What follows, is a just Account from Antiquity of the admirable Harmony and mutual Correspondence of every particular Church with one another in those Primitive Times; which was so blessed a Precedent of Unity indeed throughout the Catholick Church, as every

suc-

* Νέπως ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Αἰγυπτῶν. Ib.
 § Οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν — ἀναγκάιον ἐστὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπισ-
 κόπου μηδὲν πράττειν. Enq. p. 17.

succeeding Age (how degenerate soever) must have a Veneration for, and all good Men must lament the fatal Breaches which uncharitable Schisms have made in it since, and with a holy (tho' hopeless Emulation, I'm afraid, in these Divided Times of ours) must wish and pray, at least, to see such Heavenly Concord in the Churches upon Earth again: Yet, however irrecoverable so great a Blessing may seem to be, let every Disciple of the peaceful *Jesus* so far contribute to it still, as to ask his own Heart, (with all the Strictness and Sincerity he possibly can) what Occasion he, in particular, has given for so miserable a Change; by which Means he may happily find a Way to acquit himself, at least, (which would be no small Comfort to him) tho', for the present, he has but little farther Hopes in View.

The rest of this Chapter treats of the Interchange and Government of the Primitive Churches by Synodical Assemblies; the proper Members of which Assemblies, the Enquirer tells us, were || *Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and deputed Laymen, in Behalf of the People of their respective Churches.* Tho' a little after, he * says again, that *Firmilian's* yearly Synods were rather meer *Clerical Convocations*, and consisted of *Bishops and Presbyters* only. However, to prove that all those Orders of Men were Members of a Primitive Synod, he produces two Passages from *Eusebius*, which make it not unlikely that
some

|| Enq. p. 143.

* Ibid. p. 148.

Some of each of them might be present at the Councils he there refers to. And,

First, In the great Council of *Antioch*, which condemn'd *Paulus Samosatenus*, there were present * (says he) *Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons*, and the *Churches of God*; (by their Lay-Representatives, as he explains it) because, in the Synodical Epistle which the Fathers of that Council sent to the Christian Churches abroad, (after the Council was over) they sent the joint Salutation of all of them, together with their own. And,

Secondly, † *When the Heresy of the Montanists was fix'd and preach'd, the Faithful in Asia* (says an Anonymous Author in *Eusebius*) met together several Times to examine it; and, upon Examination, condemn'd it.

The Argument from the former of these Authorities is plainly no more than this: There were, probably, present in that Council of *Antioch*, some of all those Orders of Men; therefore they were all there as proper Members of the Council.

Now, to be really present in any Court or Council, and to have a *Right of Membership* and *Session* there, are, doubtless, very Different things. And, to judge aright where this Difference lies in the present Case before us, let these few Particulars be consider'd :

First, That Bishops were so absolutely necessary and essential Members of the Primitive Councils,

* *Enq.* p. 143. *Ex Epist. Synod. Apud Euseb. l. 7.*

c. 30.

† *Enq. Ib.*

Councils, that a *Convention of Bishops* and a *Primitive Council*, in the familiar Language of the Ancients were convertible Terms. And this our learned Enquirer is very sensible of; who * tells us, (from *Eusebius*) that *Polycrates* presided over a *Synod of Bishops*, which was no other than the great *Council of Asia* assembled about the Controversy of keeping *Easter*: And, in || another place he says, *Privatus*, Bishop of *Lam-bese*, was deposed by a *Synod of ninety Bishops*. In both which Places, 'tis manifest, a Convention, or *Synod of Bishops*, and a *Primitive Council*, were one and the same thing; and 'twere endless to produce Instances of this Kind. The Ancients, therefore, bear sufficient Witness, that Bishops were necessary (at least, if not the only) Members of a *Primitive Council*. Whereas,

Secondly, No Passage in Antiquity (I have ever heard of) affirms so much (in either respect) either of Presbyters, Deacons, or People, how often soever we may hear of them, as being present at them; nor do I think our diligent Enquirer could have overlook'd it, had there been any such Passage to be found; and sure it is, he offers no such thing.

This express Evidence, therefore, of Antiquity on the one Side, and entire Silence on the other, gives a fair Occasion to distinguish who were necessarily present, and who occasionally, or prudentially call'd thither; especially, if we consider in the third and last place,

Thirdly,

* Enq. p. 145. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 23, 24.

|| Enq. p. 105.

Thirdly, That whosoever were present in any Primitive Council, the *whole Right* of Vote, or Suffrage, in passing any Acts or Canons there, was peculiar to the *Bishops* alone. And this our learned Enquirer has made clear to my Hand in one of the most eminent Instances, which the Writings of the Ancients can afford us: For, in the || Page just before referr'd to, he tells us, *The Office and Duty of a Moderator in a Synod was (amongst other Things) to take the Votes and Suffrages of the Members of the Synod; and last of all, to give his own; as is evident (says he) in the Proceedings of the Council of Carthage, which are extant at the End of S. Cyprian's Works. Cyprian, being Moderator, sums up all, telling the Synod what they had heard; and that nothing more remain'd to be done, but the Declaration of their Judgment thereupon: Accordingly the Bishops gave their respective Votes and Decisions; and last of all, Cyprian, as President, gave in his.*

In this Account you find,

First, That S. Cyprian, as Moderator, took the Votes and Suffrages of the *Members* of that Council; and if S. Cyprian's own Authority may be taken, they were *Bishops only*, whose Votes and Suffrages he took there; and therefore *Bishops only* (in the Enquirer's Account) were *Members* of it. The Proceedings of the Council, at the End of S. Cyprian's Works, (which this Author appeals to) manifestly prove as much.

much. † At the Opening of the Council, (we find there) some few learned Letters were read, containing the full Sense and Substance of the Controversy they met about, (as any one who pleases to peruse them will quickly see.) As soon as those Letters were read, S. Cyprian, the Moderator, addresses to his Fellow-Bishops to this Effect: You have heard, my beloved Collegues, (says he) what has been written on one Side and t'other. And now what remains, is only this, that each of us [*the Bishops here present*, for so the Context obliges us to read it] do give in our respective Votes and Suffrages, or declare our Opinions in the Case, which accordingly the Bishops there present immediately did, being in Number 87; and their Suffrages alone (so obtain'd and given, as I have shewn you now) are recorded by S. Cyprian himself, as the *Whole* of that Council. And what room is left here, for any one Order of Men, there present, to have any Part or Interest in it, besides the *Bishops only*?

Nor does our Enquirer's own Representation of it imply less than this. S. Cyprian (says he) in summing up all, told the Synod what they had heard, and call'd upon *them*, (that is, upon the Synod again) to declare *their Judgment*; and how

† Cum in unum convenissent, & lectæ essent literæ, Cyprianus dixit; Audistis, *collegæ dilectissimi*, quid mihi Jubaianus Co-episcopus noster scripserit, & quid ego ei rescripserim — lectæ sunt vobis & aliæ Jubaiani literæ — *supereft*, ut de hac re, singuli quid sentiamus, proferamus. *Cypr. in Exord. Conc. Carthag. A. D. 256.*

did this *Synod* (which were surely all the Members of it) declare their Judgment in the Case? Why, the *Bishops accordingly* (says he) gave their respective Votes and Decisions, and last of all *Cyprian* gave in his. Can any thing be clearer, than that the *Bishops alone* are own'd in this Account to be the *whole Synod*, to whom alone their President apply'd himself for Votes, and that no others gave in any?

And if this eminent Council (which I may justly call the brightest Precedent of Primitive Synods, within the times prescribed by the *Enquiry*) had Presbyters, Deacons, and a great Part of the People present at it, and yet the Bishops only were address'd to under the Name and Title of the *Synod*, had the sole Right of Suffrage, and determin'd all there; what would our learned Author gather more from * *Eusebius's* Account of the Council at *Antioch*, which condemned *Paulus Samosatenus*, supposing that Historian had plainly said, that all those Orders of Men were present there also, both at the Time of Debate, and when the Sentence pass'd too? Why should we think they proceeded otherwise there, than the Practice of Synods in those Times appears to have been, by the evident Example of *S. Cyprian's* Council now mention'd? The Reason of the Thing itself must incline us to believe they did not, and no particular Reason is offer'd to make us think otherwise. Tho', after all, the Quotation from *Eusebius*, wherein the *Churches* in general Terms (as well as Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons) are named, is

* Euseb. H. E. l. 7. c. 30.

is no Part of any *Synodical Act*, or so much as of a *Debate* in that Council, but barely a Part of the formal Salutation in the *Synodical Epistle* sent by the Fathers of the Council to the *Catholic Churches* abroad, after the Council was over, (and * the *Enquiry* quotes it as such) wherein those venerable Prelates (who in the Sense of Antiquity were the proper § Representatives of the Churches they presided in) sent the Salutation of their respective Churches to the Sister Churches in all other Parts, together with their own. By which, the Historian himself so little understood them (or any Lay-Representatives of theirs) to be proper Members of that Council, that when he speaks expressly of the first Meeting of it, 'twas a *Convention of Bishops*, (as he tells us) who assembled at *Antioch*, to suppress that open Enemy of the Church; and no other Order of Men does he make mention of, as belonging to that Council. His Words are these: || *Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, by reason of his old Age, sent his Suffrage by a Letter to them; but the rest of the Pastors of the Churches [that is plainly such as Dionysius was] † came together there from every Quarter to oppose that destructive Ravager of*
X
the

* *Enq. p. 143.*

§ *Ecclesia in episcopo. Cyr. Ep. 66. § penult.*

|| 'Ο καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Διονύσιος — γῆρας αἰτία-
 τας αὐτοῦ — δι' ἐπιστολῆς τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμην παραστήσας.
 οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένες ἀλλήλοις ἀλλοθεν ὡς
 ἐπὶ λυμῶνα τῇ τῷ Χριστῷ ποίμνης σωίεσαν. *Euseb.*
Ecc. Hist. l. 7. c. 27.

† *Τελειταίας συγκεκληθείσης πλειονῶν ὅσων ἐπισκό-
 των συνέδος — καὶ ἀγνωστῆς τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
 ἀκηρυγμένης.* *Ib. Cap. 29.*

the Flock of Christ; and when he mentions the last Session wherein Paulus was actually condemn'd, he calls it a Synod of innumerable Bishops, which met there, and cast him out of the Catholick Church. This was Eusebius's Antiochian Council, which deposed Paulus, and no others mention'd to concurr with them in it.

The other Authority from the same Historian will soon appear to be much the same with this. *The Faithful in Asia* (says an Anonymous Author cited * there) met together to examine and condemn the growing Errors of the Montanists. Now the [οἱ πιστοὶ] or the Faithful here mention'd, must not be understood (I conceive) in the peculiar and appropriated Notion of them in the Primitive Church, by which they signify'd only § the highest Station of the Christian Laity, admitted to all the Mysteries of it; for then those Asiatick Synods would have had neither Bishops, Priests, nor Deacons in them, (which I presume is not pretended;) they must be taken therefore in the more general Sense, for true and Orthodox Believers; in Opposition to Infidels on the one hand, (as our blessed Lord uses that Distinction, Jo. xx. 27.) and of Hereticks on the other, as the Distinction between the Montanists and them, require them to be understood indeed in this present Quotation; and then what sort of Evidence is given here, to prove that this or t'other Order of Christians acted with Synodical Right and Authority in those Assemblies;

* Euseb. H. E. l. 5. c. 16.

§ See Dr. Cave's Prim. Christian. Part I. c. 9. p. 219. Edit. 3. in 8vo. 1676.

Assemblies; or indeed to prove what *particular Orders* of them were present there, by telling us only, that True and Orthodox Christians met together to examine and condemn the Heresie of the *Montanists*? Which is all that Anonymous Author says of it.

To strengthen these Authorities from *Eusebius*, we are || put in Mind again of that eminent Council, which *S. Cyprian* so often promis'd to call (as soon as the Church's Peace was restor'd) about the *Case of the Lapsed*; assuring his People again and again, * that *Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and the standing Laity should all be present at it*; and farther, that the *Martyrs, Confessors, and whole Body of the Clergy of Rome highly approv'd of such a general Convention upon that Occasion*; and why such careful and repeated Assurances, one would be apt to say, of calling all those Orders of Men to that particular Council, if all of them had a Right of Session in every Council, of Course? Or why such signal Notice taken of the *Roman Martyrs, Confessors, and whole Clergy's* approving so much this wise Proposition of the venerable Bishop of *Carthage* upon that Occasion, if he could not hold a Synod without them? These very Circumstances would incline a Man to think, that all those Orders of Christians were not the ordinary and necessary Members of every Ecclesiastical Synod; but that something Extraordinary made it advisable to have them present then; and that *S. Cyprian himself*

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|| Enq. p. 143.

* Ibid. p. 144.

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self assign'd such a peculiar Reason for it, is observable where-ever he made mention of it; and because the Clergy of *Rome* (whose Authority is here quoted) not only confirm, but farther explain that Reason of his, I shall briefly shew you their declared Opinion of it, as being one and the same with his.

They approved S. Cyprian's whole Scheme (as they * tell him) of that great Council, *in so momentous a Case*, upon Account of a double Advantage of it.

First, *Because it seem'd a hard Matter to them, how so great a Number of Persons [as were likely to appear Criminals in that Case] could duly be examin'd, without a great Number assisting in it.* And,

Secondly, *That 'twould be an invidious Thing (in their Opinion also) for any one single Person to pass his Sentence upon Criminals in so universal a Cause as that was, wherein the whole World, in a manner, was concern'd as well as himself; and that such a private Decree, without the Concurrence of more with him, would scarcely be thought authentick enough in so very publick a Concern.*

In

* *Quamquam nobis in tam ingenti negotio placeat, quod & tu ipse tractasti prius — perquam enim nobis & invidiosum & onerosum videtur, non per multos examinare, quod per multos commissum videatur; & unum sententiam dicere, cum tam grande crimen per multos diffusum notetur exisse; quoniam nec firmum decretum potest esse, quod non plurimorum videbitur habuisse consensum; aspice totum orbem pene vastatum — & idcirco tam grande expeti concilium quam late propagatum videtur esse delictum. Cypr. Ep. 30. § 6. Edit. Oxon.*

In which Declaration these Particulars seem clear.

First, That the *Roman* Clergy conceiv'd, *S. Cyprian* must either try the Lapsed Brethren of his Diocese, by a private Consistory of his own, or else in a publick Council convened for that Purpose.

Secondly, That if he had try'd them (the former Way) then he himself had been the *one only Judge* in the Case; for what other Sense can be made of their [*unum sententiam dicere*] here urged as an invidious Thing, in case he had not call'd a Council for it? (where I desire the Reader to take Notice, by the way, how plainly this *Roman* Clergy place the whole Judicial Power of a Diocesan Consistory in a single Person, that is, in the Bishop alone.)

But *Thirdly*, and *Lastly*, They therefore approved his whole Design of calling so numerous a Council, both of his own Clergy and People at home, and of as many Bishops as could be got from abroad; because, not only the Examination of so many Criminals would be managed with greater Ease and less Envy, if all the Brethren were present, and assisted the Bishops in it, (which plainly shews they argued upon no Right belonging to them there) but likewise the Decree and Censure, which should pass upon the Offenders at last, would be more firm and satisfactory to the whole Christian World, who had so great an Interest in it; because, it would not be the Decree or Sentence of one only Bishop then, (as it must have been in the other Case) but would have the Consent of many; that is, of many such as that *one* was; for the Word *pluri-*

morum in the latter Clause, is set in plain Opposition to the *unum* in the former. By which it appears, what an entire Synodical Right and Power this *Roman* Clergy attributes to the Bishops in that Council, and what an occasional and prudential Reason they assign for so many others being present there also; which agrees with S. Cyprian's own Account of the same Council; who, as often as he wrote about the vast Number of the Lapsed, the Importance of that Case, and the publick Interest of all the Churches in it, assured his People and all his Correspondents, that every Order of the Church should be present at the solemn Trial of those Lapsed Brethren. But when he acquainted *Jubaianus*, how that Trial was carry'd on, he expresses himself only thus; * *Anumerous Assembly of us Bishops* (says he) *met after the Persecution was over, and such and such moderate Decrees we pass'd there; and if such a Number of Bishops in Africa* (as he farther relates the Matter) *† may not seem to be sufficient,* (placing the Sufficiency of the Council, you see, in the Number of the Bishops there) *we wrote also to Cornelius of Rome, who, holding a Council with many of his Fellow-Bishops, fully agreed with us.* The Councils therefore (as such) are familiarly styled a pure Convention of Bishops only, in S. Cyprian's

* *Persecutione resopitâ in unum convenimus copiosus & Episcoporum numerus, & temperamentum libravimus.* Cypr. Ep. 55. § 3. Edit. Oxon.

† *Ac si minus sufficiens Episcoporum in Africa numerus videbatur, etiam Romam super hac rescripsimus ad Cornelium — qui ipse cum plurimis Co-episcopis habito concilio — consensit.* Cypr. Ep. 55. § 4. Edit. Oxon.

an's Language ; as we saw they were in that of the accurate *Eusebius* also : Tho' the learned *Enquirer* has been as careful to conceal this, as his own Authors are clear in it. For quoting many Canons from *S. Cyprian's Works* here, he barely tells us, that such and such things were declared in *Synods* ; and notwithstanding *S. Cyprian* is as clear in telling us, they were *Synods of Bishops* who decreed them, as that they were decreed at all ; yet in no one Canon which he quotes in this Place, was he willing we should hear that : As for instance, *S. Cyprian* (in his first *Ep. Edit. Oxon.*) tells us, *§ it was long since decreed in a Council of Bishops, that no Clergyman should be Trustee of any Man's Will.* The *Enquirer* had Occasion to cite this Canon, but only † tells us [*statutum sit*] it was so decreed, tho' [*in Concilio Episcoporum*] in a Council of Bishops, be Part of the same Comma ; and there are four Canons more, quoted in the same Page, which I don't say the learned *Enquirer* had any Necessity to tell us what Sort of Synods they were made by, but he must be sensible himself, by perusing the several Places from whence he cites them, that in *S. Cyprian's Account* they were *Synods of Bishops only*, who made them ; and therefore I chiefly take Notice of them, for a farther Confirmation of that Holy Father's Sense of the Synods in his Time.

That Presbyters, more or less in Number, were generally present with their Bishops in those

X 4

Provincial

§ Cum jampridem in Concilio Episcoporum statutum sit.
Cypr. Ep. 1. Ed. Oxon. Pamel. Ep. 66.

† See *Enq. p. 149.*

Provincial Synods, is not to be doubted; that they should all of Right be there, we may be sure the Necessities of the Churches could not admit of; and that there were any stated Representatives assign'd for them, by the Usage or Appointment of the Church, (as necessary Members of a Synod) we find no Evidence in Antiquity for it: And lastly, that they had no Right of Suffrage in passing any Canons or Censures when they sat there, I think is manifest by what is said before. All which Particulars consider'd, seem to point out this Determination for us, that they came to Councils, in those Primitive Times, according as each Bishop of the several Dioceses in the Province chose out some one or more of them to be proper Counselors and Assistants to them, in such Synodical Debates and Consultations as should come before them, whose judicious Opinions were of eminent Advantage and considerable Weight (no doubt of it) with the venerable Fathers themselves, who alone sat as necessary Members, proper Judges, and sole Legislators there.

As to the Peoples Part or Interest in *all Primitive Councils*, because we read they were present in some, I shall only observe,

First, That their being present *only in some*, and not *in all*, is a fair Argument against their *Right of Session in any*; for Right and Claim are seldom wanting to themselves, and Popular Rights the least of any: Yet how often we hear nothing of them amongst the many Synods we meet with in Antiquity, their greatest Advocates must be very well aware of. And,

Secondly,

Secondly, Where we hear the most of them, there are special Reasons given for the particular Occasions of their being there, and such as little related to the Essence or Constitution of the Council itself; for such, we find, *S. Cyprian* and the *Roman Clergy* gave for the *standing Laity's* coming to that extraordinary Council, where their *Lapsed Brethren* were to be tried. And,

Thirdly, Tho' this learned Author has produced two or three Instances where *Lay-Brethren* were present in the Primitive Councils, (and we have seen what sort of Instances they were) yet in his *general Account* of them (which is more material by far) you may remember he told us from the great Authority of *Firmilian*, that the Eastern Synods of those Times consisted of * *Bishops and Presbyters*, who met every Year to dispose those Things which were committed to their Charge; and can we think that excellent Father could be so defective in his Account of *S. Cyprian*, or so injurious to all the *Laity* of those Churches, as to give no Intimation in the least of their meeting with the rest; if either Personally, or by Representatives, they were Members of those Synods, as well as any of the others who met there?

To close this Point then, since we neither meet with the Name nor Notion of *Lay-Representatives* in any Synod of the Primitive Church; nor any Foot-steps of a Claim of Right, pretended by the *People*, to sit and act in the Councils of those Times; nor so much as a single Father bearing

* See Enquiry, p. 148.

bearing Witness to any such *Right* invested in them; but barely read, that in some particular Councils, *Lay-Brethren* were present, (which is accounted for above) and in the most we read of, they are not so much as mention'd at all; and no where affirm'd, that they either came or acted in a true Synodical Capacity there. Since Antiquity (I say) goes no farther than this, I must take leave to differ from this learned Enquirer here, who has * placed *such Members* in the Provincial Synods of those Times (as the Synods themselves no where own'd for *proper Members* of their Body) under this modern Title of *deputed Laymen, in behalf of the People of their respective Churches.*

There are other Circumstances, relating to these Primitive Synods, wherein this learned Author and other Antiquaries do not agree; but they are less material, and may the sooner be dismiss'd.

And *first*, as to the Extent or first Division of Ecclesiastical Provinces, he § concludes that depended wholly upon the meer Conveniencies, or accidental Circumstances of the Churches they consisted of: Whereas approved Antiquaries assign a more regular Original of them. The judicious *Du Pin's* Opinion is, that || *after the Apostles Decease,*

* See *Enquiry*, p. 143.

§ *Enq.* p. 141.

|| *Du Pin speaking of the Civil Distribution of the Roman Empire*, Simile aliquid (inquit) in rebus Ecclesiasticis fecere Christiani, & sive cum ordinandus aut deponendus erat episcopus, sive cum aliqua divisio erat in Ecclesia, &c. cum jam non amplius superessent Apostoli, per quos hæc antea componebantur, urbis metropoleos episcopum adire par fuit, idq; paulatim per consuetudi-

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imperi
fuerun
provinc
tum ad
candas
Discipl.
+ See
Edit. L

the Primitive Church, &c. 315

cease, the Christian Church did of course (as from the Reason of the Thing) apply themselves to the Bishop of the Metropolis, or chief City in that Province of the Empire, wherein they first were founded, in case any Bishop were to be ordain'd or deposed, or any Controversie arose amongst them; who call'd together the Bishops of the same (civil) Province, and jointly managed all those Ecclesiastical Affairs which the Apostles themselves had done in their Life-time; by which means, the Distribution of Churches (tho' not by Canon, yet by general Custom) was quickly model'd after the Form of the Empire itself. The learned Doctor † Hammond proceeds farther, and with great Evidence of Reason shews, that the Apostles themselves invested those Bishops of the chief Cities with a Right of regulating the common Discipline of all the Churches within the peculiar Provinces adjoining to their Sees. But whatsoever Occasion we assign for it, the Matter of Fact (I think) wants no other Evidence, besides the sixth Canon of the first *Nicene* Council, which expressly calls such a peculiar Pre-eminence of many chief Churches in several Provinces of the Empire, by the Name of [*Ἀρχαία ἑκκλησία*]

nem invaluit, ac tota Ecclesiarum distributio ad formam imperii facta est, urbesq; metropoles, metropoles quoque fuerunt Ecclesiae, & illarum episcopus super universam provinciam potestatem habuit — tum ad ordinandos, &c. tum ad componenda Ecclesiarum dissidia, tum ad convocandas synodos. Du Pin *Dissert. Ecclesia prima de Antiq. Escl. Discipl.* § 7.

† See Hammond of *Schism*, p. 42. to p. 54. in 8vo. Edit. Lond. 1654.

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ἔδν] || or Customs of an ancient standing in the Church ; and then canonically decreed them to continue so still. These Bishops then of the more eminent Cities (as *Du Pin*, you see, observes) did likewise call Councils, and *preside in them too*, long before the first general Council order'd any thing Synodically about it ; to which the accurate *Valesius* agrees, in his Notes upon *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 23.* Where, the Historian speaking of *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea's* presiding in the Council of *Palestine*, he observes upon it, that * *the Bishop of Cæsarea, both before and long after the first Council of Nice, had the Dignity of a Metropolitan, so that he presided in all the Councils of Palestine, as Bishop of the first See ; and where it was otherwise (as in Africa it often was) there the same Privilege devolv'd of Course upon the eldest Bishop of the Province, as the same Valesius observes upon † Palma's presiding in the Synod of Pontus, because the Eldest Bishop there.*

So

|| Τα ἀρχαῖα ἔδν κελίτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει ὥσπερ ἔν' Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπισκοπον πάντων τέτων ἔχων ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρὸ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τὸ σινηδές ἔστιν ὁμοίως ὃ καὶ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεία σώζονται ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Conc. Nic. 1. Can. 6.

* *Cæsariensis episcopus ante Concilium Nicaenum, & diu postea, metropolitani honorem ac dignitatem semper obtinuit, ita ut omnibus Palestinae conciliis præsideret tanquam primæ sedis episcopus. Vales. in loc.*

† *Palmam præsedissee ait ob antiquitatis prærogativam. — Simplicissima sessionis fuit ratio, ut antiquissimus episcopus cæteris præsideret. Vales. Ib.*

So that our Enquirer's Notion of Primitive Synods || *assembling themselves by their own Authority and Appointment*, if he mean so much by it, that every Order of Christians in his mixed Councils of Laity and Clergy concerted that Matter together, and by a joint Authority determin'd, that a Council should be call'd, (as his Account of it would imply :) This is very different (you see) from the Sense of other Antiquaries, who place that Prerogative of calling Councils in some peculiar chief Bishop in each Province of the Primitive Church, from the very Time of the Apostles Decease, as they also do their Right of Presiding there when they met ; so that there seems to have been no such great Concern again at the Opening of a Council about finding out *some grave and renown'd Bishop*, (one or more) to moderate for them, (as our learned Author * conceives) since the Person, to whom, of common Custom, that belong'd, was known to them all before-hand ; and if the Observation be made of the Bishops presiding in the several Councils of the Three First Centuries, which either Fathers or Historians give us any Account of, I presume it would appear, that these learned Antiquaries Remarks upon them were just and true.

What is farther said of Provincial Synods, that they ordinarily met once a Year, (at least) and oftentimes more than so ; that their Canons were

|| See also Du Pin in his 9th § of the fore-cited first Hist. Dissert.

* Enq. p. 144.

were binding to the several Churches of the Province whereof they did consist, and to none but them, (unless otherwise confirm'd.) And, lastly, that the general End and Use of them was for the Regulation and Management of all Ecclesiastical Affairs within their respective Jurisdictions, needs no dispute about it, and therefore I shall close this Subject and this Chapter here.

C H A P. IX.

HAVING seen what sort of Enquiry has been made into the *Constitution* and *Discipline* of the Primitive Church, I leave it to the Reader to judge, how impartially the learned Author of it has represented them.

He proceeds, next, to consider the *Unity* of the Church, in order to clear up the Sense of Antiquity in that important Point of *Schism*, which is rightly defined here, *a Breach of that Unity*.

This Enquiry might be short; but, as the Case is stated for us, we have three or four sorts of *Unities* to enquire into, instead of one: For *Church-Unity* (says he) *is to be differently understood according to the different Acceptations of the Word Church; that is, (as he explains himself) there is one sort of Unity peculiar to the Catholick or Universal Church; * another to a Church Collective; § a*
third

* Enq. p. 154.

§ Ib. p. 160.

the Primitive Church, &c. 319

third (we may say) to a *Provincial Church*, for he † distinguisheth them also; and lastly, a fourth kind of *Unity* belonging to a || *particular Diocesan or Parochial Church*, which Terms (you may remember) are all along equivalent in this Enquiry.

These are offer'd to us for *Primitive Notions of Church-Unity*, tho' not a single Instance given of any of the Ancients who so diversify'd it; nor do I think all the Records of the *Primitive Times* could afford him one. *Unity* or *Schism*, upon whatsoever Occasions the Ancients speak of them, are represented in uniform Terms, and every where alike; a *Parochial*, a *Diocesan*, a *Provincial*, a *Total* or a *Partial Schismarick*, is very Foreign Language from any we meet with in the Fathers of the *Primitive Church*; and consequently such sorts of *Unity* are so too.

However, I'll consider this ingenious Author's singular Speculations; not doubting but they'll all center in the one, true, and individual *Unity* at last.

He begins with the *Unity of the Church-Universal*; which, *negatively consider'd*, (says he) *did not consist in an Uniformity of Rites or Customs*.

This Proposition is so far true, that the *Catholick Church* did not enjoin *particular Rites and Customs* to all particular Churches: Nor (on the other hand) did particular Churches impose their own Rites and Customs upon one another.

† Page 161.

|| Page 162.

another; and, therefore, I see no Reason why the Unity of the Catholick Church, and that of particular Churches, should be distinguish'd upon this *Negative Account*. In the mean time, each particular Church might lawfully impose indifferent Rites and Customs upon her own Members; (as this learned Author || elsewhere owns) and if they could lawfully impose them, then they might lawfully censure such as would not comply with them for Contumacy, or Opposition to the lawful Orders of their own Church, was a just Cause of Censure in S. Cyprian's Opinion, and the Enquiry * quotes him for it; now to such as were justly censured by their own Church, the Laws of the Catholick Church (we know) deny'd Communion in any Part of her: So that a Contentious Member of any particular Church might find himself wholly cast out from the Catholick Church, tho' it were for meer Non-Conformity to indifferent Rites and Customs in his own; and therefore this Indefinite Negative, I think, does not hold good, that the Unity of the Catholick Church did in no wise consist in an Uniformity of Rites and Customs, since it was liable to be lost for want of it. But,

Secondly, *Neither did it consist* (says he) *in an Unanimity of Consent to Non-essential Points of Christianity.*

To wave the *undefined Term of Non-essentials*, I may justly say of this, what I said of the former

|| See Enq. Part 2. p. 163.

* Enq. p. 121.

mer; tho' the Catholick Church enjoin'd them not, yet where any of them were decided one way or the other, and enjoin'd to be receiv'd either by Authority of a Particular or Provincial Church; if any Member of such Church or Churches should break Communion, and be censur'd on account of them, the Catholick Church would no more receive such a Censur'd Person, than she would the former. I'll put the Case in that very Instance which the Enquirer † gives us of Non-essential Points: S. Cyprian, and the African Bishops of his Province, decreed that Heretical Baptism should ~~not~~ be Valid *amongst them*; this Decree was binding to the whole Province, (as the Enquirer owns, where he * speaks of the Obligation of Provincial Canons in general) and if binding, then such as would act contrary to it, were justly liable to Censure; and would the Catholick Church (do we think) receive into Communion any such Member, which either S. Cyprian, or any Bishop in his Province, should have censur'd for not observing that Decree of theirs, tho' the Point itself is here acknowledg'd to be Non-essential? By the Laws of the Catholick Church, we know they could not. So that the general *Negative* seems not to hold in this Particular neither.

But let us see the learned Enquirer's special Authority, in this Case of *Non-essentials*. Justin Martyr § (says he) *would receive the Jewish Converts*

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who

† Enq. p. 156.

* Enq. p. 146.

§ Enq. p. 155.

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† Enq. p. 156.

* Enq. p. 146.

§ Enq. p. 155.

who adhered to the Mosaical Rites into Church-Fellowship and Communion with him, if they did it only through Weakness, and did not persuade others to it; therefore every one was left to believe in those lesser (Non-essential) Matters (says he) as God should inform them. Now, if every one were so left to God and themselves, then why not the Gentile Converts as well as the Jews in this particular Instance? And yet S. Paul * tells them, if they should be circumcis'd, Christ would profit them nothing. Nor did *Justin* himself allow them that Liberty. The Observation of the Mosaical Rites therefore was, either not thought a Non-essential Point, (and then 'tis unduly quoted for an Instance of it here) or else the Church did not allow that every one should believe in those Matters as they thought fit, or (if it pleases better) as God should inform them; so that this Instance so little proves the Proposition it was brought for, that it rather proves the contrary; besides, most Men are sensible, I believe, that *Justin Martyr* in that † early Age, and § peculiar Country he liv'd in, was not sway'd by his own private Judgment in that extraordinary Case, but had a fair Plea of the Opinion and Practice of the highest Authority in the Church for what he did, which I take to be the only true Warrant indeed for concluding any difficult Part to be Non-essential; for if every one might do it for himself, it is scarce conceivable how the Church of God should secure

* Gal. v. 2.

† Ἀποστόλων Μαθητής. Ep. ad Diognet. prope finem.

§ Ἀπὸ Φλακίας νέας πόλεως ἡ Συνείας, ἡ Παλαισί-
νης. Apol. secunda ad iait.

cure the Fundamentals themselves, which are committed to their Trust.

How little then the two Negative Definitions of Catholick Unity distinguish it from any particular Kind besides, appears by what has been said. The Inference drawn from the former is this, † *Whosoever imposed on particular Churches the Observance of their peculiar Rites and Customs, were esteem'd not as Preservers and Maintainers, but as Violators, and Breakers of the Church's Unity and Concord; for so Victor of Rome was (says he) for exacting of the Eastern Churches to keep Easter as they did in the West.*

This Inference seems carefully calculated for the Author's own singular Notion of a Primitive Particular Church; and not so much to inform us, (what his Example shews) that a Church in the West could not impose Customs on a Church in the East, (which none would dispute with him) as that no Bishop of any Church whatsoever (from East to West) could impose their Rites and Customs on more Congregations than one, because every Congregation, in his Opinion, was a particular Church, and always should be so. But since this *ingenious Innuendo* does, 1st, suppose, that he has clearly prov'd the Primitive Dioceses to have been no more than meer Congregational Churches, (which I take to be sufficiently spoken to before) or, 2^{dly}, that they could not have been truly Catholick or Apostolical Churches, if they had consisted of more, which he has not so much as attempted to prove, (tho' it might well have

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been expected from him) I shall leave the Reader and him to make the best Use they can of the Arguments he has offer'd for it within the Three first Centuries, and to censure, as they think fit, all the Celebrated Bishops of the Ages immediately following; which I make no doubt they freely own to have presid'd over Churches of more Congregations than one, and consequently to have enjoin'd the same Rites and Customs to be observ'd in all.

The Inference from the latter Negative Definition is more extraordinary still; † *Whosoever* (says he) *should impose the Belief of Non-essential Points upon particular Persons, were in like manner esteem'd as Violators of the Church's Unity and Concord.* For thus (says he) Stephen Bishop of Rome was condemn'd by other Bishops, for anathematizing Cyprian (Bishop of Carthage) because he held the *Baptism of Hereticks to be null and void.*

In this Inference you may observe, that the Words *whosoever* and *particular Persons* are indefinitely named, and in general Terms, at first; but in the Instance given for the Proof of it, they are explain'd by the Bishop of one Church imposing his Non-essentials on the Bishop of another. Now, if the Instance explains the full Meaning of the Author, (as it ought to do) then the Inference is just, and may pass without Exception, and the Imposer deserves all the hard Words of *Cruelty, Tyranny,* and the like, which this zealous Enquirer fixes upon him; and the Reason is plain, because the one Bishop had no manner of Jurisdiction over the

† Enquiry, *Ibid.*

the other ; and besides, the Bishop of a Church is not look'd upon in a private Capacity as *other particular Persons* are, especially when a Foreign Bishop attempts to impose a Point of Doctrine upon him, which is otherwise determin'd in his own Church. S. Cyprian's Maxim is peculiarly applicable in such a Case, *the Church is in the Bishop, and the Bishop in the Church*; at least, it was notoriously so, in the present Case between Stephen and S. Cyprian ; for Stephen's Controversy was not with * *the Person of S. Cyprian only*, (as 'tis here made to be) *but with his whole Diocese, (nay his Province indeed) insomuch as he proceeded to censure all alike, for not receiving that Non-essential Point in dispute between them, as he and his Bishops had decreed it at Rome.* This was Tyranny with a Witness, and if the Enquirer had meant no otherwise than this, (as his Example and Quotations prove no more) it had been fair to specify his *whosoever*, and his *particular Persons* with some Note of Restriction upon them : But they are left at large (you see) that the Inference might remain an universal Proposition still, tho' the Proof of it was in a particular and singular Case only ; to the end that his Freedom in Non-essentials might be liable to no sort of Check or Controul, either from abroad or at home : Insomuch that if a Synod of Bishops in any Province of the Christian Church, should pass any

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Canon

* Stephanus non tantum sententiam suam adversus Cyprianum & synodum Africanam etiam iteratam protulit, sed & ipsum & episcopos contraria sentientes, abstinendos esse putavit, ut tum Cyprianus tum Augustinus disertis verbis testantur. *Annal. Cypr. ad A. D. 256.*

Canon relating to a Non-essential Point, tho' for the better Security of some Fundamental Doctrine in their impartial Judgment and Opinion of it, (as both the *African* and *European* Bishops plainly did in that Case we have been speaking of) and should require the Subjects in their respective Jurisdictions to consent to it, (as those Bishops on one side and the other certainly did) they must be censur'd as Schismatical Violators of the Concord of the Church, according to the Inference drawn by this learned Author from his Negative Definition of Unity in the Church Universal; notwithstanding we are fully assured, that the Universal Church itself did peaceably allow all those Celebrated Churches to use that Liberty within themselves, and none but the furious Bishop of *Rome* himself (whom all Christian Churches besides exclaim'd against for it) did ever think the Sacred Unity of the Church was violated by it. But to proceed to his *positive* Definition, which is this:

The Unity of the Church Universal (says he) *positively consisted, in an harmonious Assent to the Essential Articles of Religion, or in an unanimous Agreement in the Fundamentals of Faith and Doctrine.* This is true; but whether the whole Truth, is not so clear.

The Unity of the Catholick Church was two ways liable to be broken; by *Heresy*, and by *Schism*; so the Enquirer † tells us from *S. Cyprian*, (under this very Head) *that the Devil found*

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† *Enq.* p. 160. *Diabolus hæreses invenit & schismata, quibus scinderet unitatem. Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. § 2.*

out Heresies and Schisms to divide the Unity. Now, in Opposition to Heresies, the Unity did consist, no doubt of it, in an unanimous Agreement in Fundamentals of Faith and Doctrine. And this Irenæus particularly meant in the Quotation here produced from him, as the Subject of his whole Book indeed implies, which was directly wrote against Heresies: But does our learned Author's Definition tell us wherein the Unity of the Universal Church consisted, in Opposition to Schism also? (which was the main Motive of his Enquiry into it, as he says himself, § 1. of this Chapter.) If the *Unity of the Episcopacy* be admitted by him for one of his *Fundamentals*, I need raise no farther Controversy about it at present; but if he exclude that (as his Manner of explaining it, and his different Use of it afterwards, give us just Reason to think he does) I must take Leave to say, his *positive Definition* is imperfect, and appeal to the Primitive Fathers themselves, if the *Unity of the Episcopacy* was not absolutely essential to the Unity of the Catholick Church.

S. Cyprian, in the same Breath, (I may say) wherein he exemplifies the Unity of the Church in the Words of S. Paul, * *One Body and one Spirit, one Hope of your Calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God*: He adds, as parallel to the rest; *Let no Man deceive the Brethren with a Lye,*
let

* Unum corpus, & unus spiritus, una spes vocationis vestræ, unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus. — Nemo fraternitatem mendacio fallat, nemo fidei veritatem perfida prævaricatione corrumpat; episcopatus est unus. Cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. *Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. § 4. p. 108. Edit. Oxon.*

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let no Man corrupt the Truth of our Faith with any treacherous Prevarication, the Episcopacy is one; making it a treacherous Corruption of the Truth of the Faith (you see) to deny that: And that it was the Episcopacy of the *Universal Church*, and not of any particular one, which he so affirm'd to be but one, is evident beyond Exception, by what he immediately says of it, *that each Bishop held no more than a Part of it, tho' they were interested for the whole.*

But notwithstanding this Evidence, which runs throughout all S. Cyprian's Works, and the same Principle receiv'd by the whole Primitive Church, our learned Author seems so little to allow this Unity of the Episcopacy for a common Bond of Unity to the Church-Universal, that he mentions nothing of it (you see) either in his Negative, or Positive, Definitions of it: But, on the contrary, to make it patronize his own || singular Opinion, [*that Primitive Schism respected only a particular Church*] he produces S. Cyprian's Notion, under that Head, as a current Proof of his *particular or Parochial* Unity, in Contradistinction to that of the Church-Universal; tho', to make it bend to that Design, he was obliged to translate the Holy Father's Words (as he had done once † before) contrary to his plain Meaning in them, and the genuine Signification of them. I'll repeat the * Quota-
tion

|| Enq. p. 168.

† Enq. c. 2. p. 21.

* Deus unus, & Christus unus, & una Ecclesia, & Cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata: aliud altare constitui, aut sacerdotium novum fieri, præter unum altare, & unum sacerdotium, non potest.

tion, and let the Reader judge: The Words (as he translates them, *Enq. Pag. 166.*) are these; *God is one, Christ is one, the Church is one, the Rock on which the Church is built is one,* (a very unlikely Preface, you'll say, to introduce the Unity of a single Parish-Church by;) but observe what follows; *Wherefore* (says the Enquirer's Translation) *to erect a new Altar, and constitute a new Bishop, besides the one Altar and one Bishop, is impracticable.* And had S. Cyprian said this, one might have thought, indeed, by his speaking of *one Bishop*, and a *new Bishop*, and no more than so, this Clause of the Period might have had some Reference to the Unity or Schism of a particular Church, (and for that Reason, no doubt, the Enquirer translated it so.) But S. Cyprian's Words, we see, are [*Unum Sacerdotium, & Novum Sacerdotium*] *one Priesthood, and a new Priesthood*; which are complex Terms, and denote not a single Bishop, but the entire Order of them in the Church, or (in his own Language, as we observ'd but now) the *one Episcopacy*, whereof each Bishop held a Part. And this is that Principle of Unity in the Catholick Church, which the Holy Martyr, in this Quotation, declares to be so absolutely *One*, that he introduces it with all those solemn Instances of indivisible Unity which we find here in the same Period with it: A plain Proof, that no Breach of it could be made in any single Church whatsoever; but the whole Episcopacy was broken, and consequently the Schism must, *ipso facto*, extend to the Church-Universal.

In few Words, the Difference between the Primitive Church and the *Enquirer*, in this Matter,

ter, lies here. The *Enquirer* takes Notice only, how *that* particular Church *alone*, wherein the Schism began, had a new Bishop imposed upon them; and therefore seems to see no farther Injury or Innovation yet made in the Church of Christ besides: Whereas the Primitive Church was sensible, that there was not only a new Bishop schismatically made in that *particular Church*, but a new *Priesthood*, or a new *Episcopacy*, springing up by Means of it, which stood in open Competition with that one Priesthood, or one Episcopacy, derived down to them all from Christ and his Apostles, and might, from Generation to Generation, propagate another pretended Church, distinct from, and independent of, the only true one; usurping an equal Right and Title to Scriptures, Creeds, and Sacraments, (as well as a *new Priesthood*) with the Apostolical Succession itself, and the Authority as good in the one as the other, unless they all jointly disavow'd the Usurpation, and every Bishop of the Church (as soon as they had any Cognizance of it) utterly renounced all Correspondence and Communion with the Authors or Abettors of it; for it equally injur'd them all. So immediately did every particular Schism, without any other intervening Act in the Case, influence the Universal Church, and violate the sacred Unity of it.

From whence these two Things appear.

First, That 'twas no slight Error in the *learned Enquirer* to render S. Cyprian's *novum Sacerdotium*, by that undue Translation of a *new Bishop*, instead of a *new Priesthood*, since 'twas the main Hinge on which the Controversie turn'd; and had it been rightly render'd, would have discover'd

ver'd wherein the Primitive Church and he differ'd about those important Points of *Unity and Schism*. And,

Secondly, That the two only ways, whereby the Enquirer * afterwards says, the *Schism of a particular Church* might influence other Churches, namely, by admitting excommunicated Schismatics, their Legates, Messengers, or Followers; or else, by receiving Letters from them, and approving their Pretensions; are of a very different Consideration from the Point in question here: For the Question is not, how other Churches might actually become Schismatics, as well as the *Principals themselves*; but how all Christian Churches (in the Judgment of the Primitive Fathers) were *ipso facto* injur'd, and their Catholick Unity immediately broken, by a Schism breaking out in any particular Church, tho' no other Church besides either favour'd or approved of them: Which was not (you see) by becoming Schismatics themselves, (as the Enquirer's Argument implies) but by the Schismatics introducing a new Priesthood or Episcopacy into the Church of Christ, wherein they were wholly Passive, but universally concern'd.

'Tis true, S. Cyprian very well knew, from the Nature of the Thing itself, that every Schism must be form'd by some Members of a particular Church breaking off from their own Bishop, and therefore inveighs against that Violation of their Spiritual Allegiance, and aggravates the Guilt of such a Breach, as the *necessary Cause* from

from whence Schism must arise, and so much the Enquirer's several * Quotations from him shew ; but he produced them as plain Evidences that Schism respected only those particular Churches, and no more ; whereas when the same S. Cyprian comes to close those Discourses, and to tell the Schismatics how their Guilt came to be so great ; he gives them this Reason for it, (which the Enquirer has † transcribed amongst the rest too) *because, says he, the Catholick Church, which is one, is not rent nor divided, but knit and coupled together by the Cement of her Bishops united to one another.* As if he had plainly said, that no Schism can be made, but the Catholick Church and all the Bishops of it must be injur'd at once ; and this plain Consequence of revolting from a single Bishop, was a sufficient Motive for the Holy Martyr S. Ignatius also, to lay such frequent and pathetical Injunctions upon all Christians to obey their *respective Pastors*, and live in Unity *with them*, (which the Enquirer § makes a great Argument again for his Primitive Parochial Schism) whereas if the Sin of Schism was the Consequence of their Disobedience, which is agreed as well on one side as the other ; the Reason was equal at least, take it in

* Neque aliunde nata sunt schismata, &c. Hi sunt ortus atq; conatus schismaticorum, &c. Inde schismata & hæreses abortiæ sunt, &c. See Enq. p. 166, 167.

† Enq. ib. p. 167. ad finem. Quando Ecclesia, quæ Catholica una est, scissa non sit neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, & coherentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulata. Cypr. Ep. 69. (Edit. Oxon. 66.) § 7.

§ Enquiry, p. 169.

in which Sense we please, for that zealous Martyr to warn them so affectionately against it ; or if any Difference, the Argument would rather look the other way ; that their Crime extended farther than our learned Author allows it to do, because the Holy Father's Injunctions were so frequent and *pathetical*, as he observes them to be : And this cannot be doubted indeed, if we remember S. Ignatius's Notion of *the One Altar*, which he unquestionably meant, (as all the Ancients did) with reference to the Universal Church, as I have shewn before.

After all, the Enquirer * undertakes to make his *Thesis* clear, (beyond exception) by the noted Instances of *Feliciſſimus's* Schism in the Church of *Carthage*, and that of *Novatian* at *Rome* ; and to that Purpose shews at large, that they were call'd Schismatics, and proceeded against as such, whilst they neither caus'd nor attempted any Separation from any other Churches, but those respectively of *Carthage* and *Rome* ; and they very well might be so, and yet nothing less injurious to the Universal Church, as you have seen already. But let us hear what S. Cyprian says of these very Schisms, which are offer'd as a Pattern for all. Of *Feliciſſinus* and his Accomplices (says that Holy Martyr to *Cornelius* of *Rome*)
 || *What manner of Persons do you think they must be, who are Enemies of the Bishops, and Rebels against the Catholick Church ? Did their Schism respect himself*

* Enq. p. 172.

|| Quales putas esse eos, qui sacerdotum hostes, & contra Ecclesiam Catholicam rebelles ? Cypr. Ep. 59. § 5. Edit. Oxon.

himself and his Church *only*, and yet that good Man fix so hard a Charge upon them, beyond what they deserv'd? No, 'twas on Account of his settled Judgment in the Case, (and that of the whole Christian Church with him) according to the Catholick Principle we are now speaking of. And of *Novatian*, more plainly still; || *he separated himself* (says he) *from the Bond of the Church, and from the College of Bishops, and would neither keep the Unity of the Episcopacy nor the Peace of it*: How this suits with Primitive Schism, again, respecting a particular Church only, I confess I can't see.

This, and such-like Evidence from Antiquity, press'd so hard upon the Enquirer's singular Notion, that he found himself obliged to fly to these cautious Distinctions; * That Schism in its larger Sense was a Breach of the Church Universal; but in its usual and restrain'd Sense, of a Church Particular: And again, † That Schism, principally and originally, respected a particular Church or Parish; tho' it might consequentially influence others too: And again, § that it actually broke the Unity of one Church, and virtually of all.

In the first of which Distinctions, he owns (you see) that Schism, in *some Sense*, was a Breach of the Church Universal; and in what *large Sense* that should be, if it respected no more than a particular

|| Qui se ab ecclesiæ vinculo, atq; à sacerdotum collegio separat — qui Episcopatus nec unitatem voluit tenere, nec pacem. *Cypr. Ep. 55. p. 112. Edit. Oxon.*

* Enq. p. 180.

† Pag. 162.

§ Pag. 173.

ticular Church only, (as he || affirms of it) is too much for me to conceive. *Originally*, indeed, it respected a *particular Church*, so far, that in one or other of them, it must *originally* break out; but that it respected other Churches *consequentially only*, is but the same Mistake again, (which I answer'd before) *that none were affected with it* (in his Opinion) *but such as became Schismatics themselves*. And lastly, how this Catholick Unity *was broken*, and not *actually broken*, is too nice for me again. But such uneven Ground we may expect to meet with, when we leave the plain Way.

I have wonder'd, I confess, from whence the singular Way of Reasoning in this *Enquiry* should come; but the Secret of it (if I mistake not, and I ask Pardon if I do) seems to lie here; some charitable Expedient was to be found out to support some sort of Schismatics with this comfortable Hope, that tho' they broke the Unity of the *particular Church* whereof they were Members, yet they might continue in the Unity of the *Church Universal*. Still; especially, if the Points in Controversy between them were Matters only of Rites or Non-essentials; and if the Unity of the Episcopacy had been admitted for an essential Bond of Catholick Unity (as it really was in the Judgment of the Primitive Church) that *comfortable Expedient*, and this whole *Scheme of Diversity of Unities*, had been lost together; as appears (I think) by the particular Account I have here given of them.

I have taken but little Notice indeed of his Difference between the Unity of a Church *Collective*,

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itive, and that of the Church Universal; because he had prevented me in his own Account of that. For the Unity of a Church Collective † (says he) may have consisted in a Brotherly Correspondence with, and Affection towards each other; which they demonstrated by all outward Expressions of Love and Concord; as by receiving into Communion the Members of each others, mutually advising and assisting one another by Letters or otherwise; and other Marks of Love and Concord. And, on the other hand, the Relation (says he) between each Particular Church and the Universal Church (in general) was this, That as one Member of the Natural Body has a Regard to all the other Members thereof, so a particular Church had to every Member of the Church Universal; the Bishops employ'd a general Kind of Inspection over all other Churches besides their own, observing their Condition, and giving them an Account of their own; and sent to one another for Advice and Decision in difficult Points: In these, and in many other such-like Cases, there was a Correspondence between the particular Churches of the Universal. Now, where the distinct Unity of a Collective Church, from that of the Universal, lies in this Account of them, I must leave the Reader to enquire; for I confess I can discover none.

And thus having consider'd the several Kinds of Unities proposed, I may conclude (I think) what I first expected of them, that (in respect of Schism at least, for the sake of which this singular Diversity was contriv'd) they all center in that one individual Unity, which all Antiquity attributed to the Catholick Church of Christ.

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One Point under this Head, is still behind, and so necessary to be settled, that the Subject of the whole Chapter is of little Use without it. *Schism* (as our learned Author has * defined it) was a *causeless Separation from their lawful Pastor*. This gave him Occasion to enquire, what Causes could justify such a *Separation*, and what not; an Enquiry, proper on all Sides; whether the *Schism* were *Particular* only, or an *Universal* one, since *Schism* was a certain and immediate Effect of it. But, to be clear in this Enquiry with him, the principal Term in the Question must first be rightly understood.

Separation, if it be meant according to the Point in Question here, must imply, not a bare Abstaining from Communion with the lawful Pastor, but Setting up another also in his stead; for otherwise a formal *Schism* was not yet made; which Distinction I briefly hint to the Reader, because, tho' the Question itself does so necessarily suppose this *Setting up of Altar against Altar*, as well as *Forbearing to communicate*; yet in the Proofs and Precedents offer'd for it, and in the Inference drawn from them † at the last, he will find they are promiscuously used without this due Distinction; whereas 'tis evident by the whole OEconomy and Principles of the Primitive Church, that Causes might be given for not joining in Communion with a Pastor, thro' some Fundamental Corruption (for Example) in the very Service of his Church; and yet the same Persons, who leave him for it, may not be authorized to deprive that Pastor, or to substitute

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* Enq. p. 163.

† Enq. p. 166. § 7.

another in his Place. The necessary Requisites for *deposing* or *constituting* Bishops in the Primitive Times (as we have seen at large || before) is sufficient Proof of this; and the learned *Enquirer*, in the Close of this very Head, † declares, that 'twas avouch'd by all, that Synods did depose all those Bishops that were guilty of criminal or scandalous Enormities: As he own'd * before also, that the Bishops of the Province were to be call'd in (at least) and their Consent obtain'd, before any Bishop of the Primitive Church could be legally instituted (as he calls it) or settled in their Place. From these Considerations of confess'd Matter of Fact, it must follow, that the Peoples Part in any Separation (be the Occasion never so justifiable) could amount to no more, than a bare Abstaining from Communion, till a regular Authority should depose their Criminal Pastor, and provide another for them.

And if we bear these Premisses in Mind, whilst we examine all this learned Author offers upon this Subject, we shall find it comes to just the same thing; whatever more might be intended by it. His whole Account of it is as follows:

The justifiable Causes § (says he) *for such a Separation, I think, were two, or at the most, three. First, Apostacy from the Faith: Secondly, Heresy: And Thirdly, A scandalous and wicked Life.*

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|| Cap. 3. & 6. *supra*.

† Enq. p. 165.

* Enq. p. 47, 49.

§ Enq. p. 163, 164.

His Instance for Apostacy, is that of the *Spanish Bishops, Basilides and Martialis*; whose Relapsing to Idolatry in Time of Persecution was notorious; and that the People should separate from them, and join in Communion with others, was approv'd by *S. Cyprian* and his Synod, in that † Epistle the Enquirer refers to for it. But how stood the Case, when the *African Council* thus advised them? and how far did the Peoples Part in that Separation go? Did the People, or any of the inferiour Clergy of their Churches with them, turn their Apostate Bishops out of their Places, and, by their own Act and Deed, substitute others in their room? Nothing like it, if you'll believe the Synod itself in that Case? For, as they represent the Matter (in the same Epistle) those Idolatrous Bishops were *Synodically* deprived; and others, in the *same manner*, placed in their Sees, before the People ever apply'd to *S. Cyprian* and his Council about Communicating or not Communicating with them; only by the unjust Interposition of the Bishop of *Rome*, in favour of those Idolaters after they were deprived, they claim'd their former Right still; and in *that Case*, the *African Council* advised and warranted the People to separate from their first Idolatrous Bishops, and join Communion with those, who were so regularly provided for them; [as I have shewn more at large in the Sixth Chapter foregoing.] And now a *Separation*, in any Case whatsoever, thus managed, is justifiable without Dispute. And this is all the *Enquiry*

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† Cypr. Ep. 68. or 67. Edit. Oxon.

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proves in the first justifiable Cause for it, namely, that of notorious Idolatry: For what the Instance or Example proves, is presumed to be the Substance of the Argument, which the Author grounds upon it. But,

Secondly, What Sort of Separation he approved of, in case of an Heretical Pastor, is not so easily to be known, from his short Quotations under that Head; for all he † says of it is, that *Irenaus* advises us || to fly from all Hereticks; and that *Origen* allows the People to separate from their Bishop, * if they could accuse him of false and heretical Doctrine; which no doubt of it, all good Christians ought to do: But this is speaking at large: If we would know the Practice of the Primitive Church in this Matter, the Case of *Paulus Samosatenus* is as clear a Precedent as Antiquity can afford; and as evidently shews, that the Separation both of Laity and Inferiour Clergy from an Heretical Bishop, was managed in the same manner then, as we have seen it was in the Case of the Idolatrous Bishops before. The Proceedings against *Paul* are at large recorded by *Eusebius*, and in the Synodical Letter of the Council call'd against him, which that Historian has in great Part preserv'd for us; where we read of no new Altar or second Bishop set up by Presbyters, Deacons, or People, (notwithstanding they were conscious enough of his blasphemous Notions) till such time as the great Coun-

† Enquiry. *Ibid.*

|| *Enq. ib.* Oportet longè fugere ab eis. *Iren.* l. 1. c. 13.

* Si habueris accusationem doctrinæ pessimæ, & aliorum ab ecclesiâ dogmatum. *Orig. Hom.* 7. in *Ezek.*

Council solemnly deposed him, and promoted *Domnus* to his See : Nay, we find his Orthodox People still present at the publick Service of the Church with him, (his heretical Blasphemies not being yet inserted there) tho' || *they suffer'd Reproaches from him all the while, for behaving themselves more decently and gravely than his wretched Flatterers did,* as the holy Fathers of the Council relate the Case themselves. The Separation in this Case therefore was managed thus : The watchful Bishops of the several Churches of God about him took the Alarm of his Heresy, and provided a more faithful Pastor in a regular and authentick Manner for his People, who waited for that warrantable Course of being duly separated from him ; trusting to the Providence of God (without going out of his Way) which every Christian safely may depend upon, from the faithful Promises of our Blessed Lord, that he will be with his Church for ever. But,

Thirdly, As to the Matter of a scandalous and wicked Life, the learned Enquirer himself, and the venerable Authors he cites, are divided about the *Modes* of Separation in such a Case. An African Synod* (he tells us) affirms, that the People of their own Power and Authority, without the concurrent Assent of other Churches, might leave and desert a scandalous Bishop ; and Irenæus (he says) agrees with them in it, tho' Origen seems to be of another Mind,

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Now,

|| Τοῖς οὖν, ὡς ἐν οἴκῳ Θεοῦ σεμνοπρεπῶς καὶ διτάκτως ἀκούσιν ἐπιλημῶν καὶ ἐνυβρίζων. Euseb. H. E. lib. 7. c. 30.

* Enq. p. 164, 165.

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Now, by *leaving and deserting their Bishop, of their own Authority, and without the Assent of other Churches*, 'tis plain he means no less than a full Power in them to discharge him of his Pastoral Care over them, and to provide another Bishop or Pastor for themselves; for he sets it in direct Opposition to *Origen's Opinion*, which in his † own Construction of it, was *to wait for a Synodical Authority to depose their Bishop in any such Case*.

His Meaning being plain then, we shall soon see (or rather have seen already indeed) that the *African Synod* he refers to, allows no such Popular Liberty, of placing and displacing Pastors for themselves, in case of a *scandalous or immoral Life*; for 'tis the very same Synod, and the same Epistle of theirs he here appeals to, which he cited just before in the Case of the *Idolatrous Spanish Bishops*; who being not Apostates only, but vicious and immoral Men too, the Synod consider'd them in both respects, in their Answer to the Clergy and People of their Churches who wrote for their Advice about them; and as this gave Occasion to the Synod severally to declare, in many Passages of that Epistle, how unworthy either Vicious or Idolatrous Bishops were to minister at the Altar of God; so it did to this *Enquirer* also to make a double Use and Application of it; whereas in respect to the Peoples Separation from one, and joining in Communion with another (which is the Case before us here) the Synod's Judgment was the same, as well in regard to the Immorality, as to the

the Idolatry of their Bishops. In both Cases it had immediate reference to the Condition the People were in, and the Difficulties they were driven to, of having Rival Bishops (on one Side Synodically deprived, and on the other Synodically set up) and the Synods Determination for them was this: That since they had Bishops so regularly provided for them, and the other so justly deprived, they should separate from the one who were guilty of such open Idolatry and Immoral Lives, and join Communion with the other, who could be charged with neither, notwithstanding the Bishop of Rome, and some other nearer home, discouraged them from doing so; and this was the *very Separation* that Synod had Occasion to speak to, upon the Clergy and the Peoples Application to them; and the only Kind of *Popular Election* they maintain'd, which has so mightily been insisted upon, in a very different Sense, * before. Let the impartial Reader have recourse to the Synodical † Epistle itself, and judge if he can find this Dispensation granted there to any Christian Churches whatsoever, to desert their Criminal Bishops of their own Authority, and without Assent of other Churches, in such a Sense as is affirm'd here. To proceed then to the other Authority for it.

Irenaus, || says he, was of the same Mind with this *African Council*; and I doubt not, but he was; but not in the Sense intended here: The

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* Enq. Chap. 6.

† Cypr. Ep. 67. Edit. Oxon.

|| Enq. p. 164.

|| Passage quoted for it from that Father, neither implies so much, nor is directly applicable to the Point in hand, if the learned Commentator upon it, understood it right. The Question before us is, what the People are to do in case of *Scandal* and *Immorality* in their Bishops, his Faith and Principles in the mean time being Sound and Orthodox ; but *Irenaus*, in the Place quoted here, was speaking of the * *most vicious Hereticks of those Times, such as Nicolas the Deacon, Cerinthus, Ebion, and the like*; as the judicious Annotator verily believes. This alters the Case, and many Circumstances would persuade any Reader that *Irenaus* meant so. First, Because he does not name the Presbyters he was speaking of there, as *genuine Presbyters* of the Church, but † *such as were thought by many to be so*; which Character of them the Enquirer was pleas'd to leave out, tho' in the midst of the first Comma he cites. Secondly, Because *Irenaus* introduces what he says of them, with plain Terms of Distinction from the Presbyters he was speaking of before, who were § *such as had Succession from the Apostles, and with that Succession the certain Gift of Truth, according to the good Pleasure*

|| Qui vero presbyteri serviunt suis voluptatibus, &c.
— ab omnibus talibus abstinere oportet. *Iren. l. 4. c. 44.*
§. 1.

* Qui vero crediti quidem sunt à multis presbyteri, &c. *Annot.* Nicolaum, Cerinthus, Ebionem, & id genus Hæresiarchas hic atro carbone notari existimo. *Ad Iren. ubi supra.*

† Qui vero crediti quidem sunt à multis presbyteri.

§ Eis qui in Ecclesiâ sunt presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab apostolis, & cum episcopatus successionem charisma veritatis certum secundum placitum patris acceperunt. *L. 4. c. 43.* Qui vero crediti sunt à multis, &c. *Ib. c. 44. §. 1.*

*Pleasure of the Father, (as the Context shews :) And Thirdly, Because in the Quotation itself, where he advises all Christians to abstain from them, he exhorts them (by way of Distinction again) * to keep close to those, who (as he told them before) preserv'd the Doctrine of the Apostles ; pretty plain Signs, one would think, that he was speaking of Hereticks, as well as vicious Men, tho' the same Persons still.*

And yet, after all, be it of one or t'other, or both ; he says no more, you see, to our present Case, than that *we should abstain from them ;* which determines nothing, how the Church of God in general should be regularly freed from such wretched Presbyters, or any particular People provided with a more worthy Pastor for themselves ; but leaves his Reader there to the warrantable Rules and Method of the Church, having taught him just before what sort of Apostolical Successors all Christians were obliged to cleave to ; and farther warn'd him to || *suspect all others who go off from that Succession, and hold their Meetings in any Place whatsoever, as Hereticks or Schismatics, or Proud, or Pleasers of themselves, or else as Hypocrites who do it for the sake of Interest or Vain-Glory.* Which gives as little Licence, I think, to the People of any Diocese, particular Church,

* Ab omnibus igitur talibus abstinere oportet, adherere vero his qui Apostolorum (sicut prædiximus) doctrinam custodiunt. *Ib. cap. 44.*

|| Reliquos vero qui abstant à principali successione, & quocunq; loco colliguntur, suspectos habere, vel quasi hæreticos & malæ sententiæ, vel quasi scindentes, & e-latos, & sibi placentes ; aut rursus ut hypocritas, quæstus gratiâ & vanæ gloriæ hoc operantes. *Iren. ubi supra, cap. 43.*

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Church, or Parish (name it as you please) to provide themselves a Pastor of *their own Authority, and without the Assent of other Churches*, in the Sense it is pretended here, as the *African Council* itself did before; and so far *Irenæus* and that Council do agree, neither of them warranting that *Popular Right and Authority of heaping up Teachers to themselves*, (to use the Apostle's Phrase) however unfortunate they may be, to have an immoral Pastor at any time among them.

And that *Origen* comes nearer to the Sense of both of them, than our learned Author thought he did, (tho' he endeavour'd to reconcile them too) I believe the Reader will perceive by the very Quotation he gives us from him here, which I shall transcribe in his own Translation, together with the Text itself; not only as the true Sense of the *African Council* and *Irenæus*, but of the whole Primitive Church with them; in this Point of Scandal and Immorality in any Minister of the Church of God.

He * *that hath a Care of his Soul, will not be scandalized at my Faults, who am his Bishop, but*
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* Qui curam habet vitæ suæ, non meis delictis, qui videor in Ecclesiâ prædicare, scandalizabitur, sed ipsum dogma considerans, & pertractans Ecclesiæ fidem, à me quidem aversabitur, doctrinam vero suscipiet secundum præceptum Domini, qui ait, supra cathedram Moyse sederunt Scribæ & Pharisei, omnia enim quæcunq; vobis dicunt audite & facite, juxta autem opera illorum nolite facere, dicunt quippe & non faciunt: Iste sermo de me est, qui bona doceo, & contraria gero, & sum sedens supra cathedram Moyse quasi Scriba & Phariseus; præceptum tibi est, O popule; si non habueris accusationem doctrinæ pessimæ & alienorum ab ecclesia dogmatum, conspexeris vero meam culpabilem vitam atq; peccata, ut non habeas, juxta dicentis vitam tuam instituire, sed ea facere quæ loquor. *Orig. Homil. 7. in Ezechiel.*

considering my Doctrine, and finding it agreeable to the Church's Faith, from me indeed he will be averse, but he will receive my Doctrine, according to the Precept of the Lord; which saith, The Scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses's Chair, whatsoever therefore they say unto you, hear and do, but according unto their Works do not, for they say, and do not: That Scripture is of me, who teach what is Good, and do the contrary, and sit upon the Chair of Moses, as a Scribe or Pharisee: The Precept is, to thee, O People; if thou can'st not accuse me of false Doctrine, or heretical Opinions, but only beholdest my wicked and sinful Life; then must not square thy Life according to my Life, but do those Things which I speak.

Here Origen must needs be understood (as the learned Enquirer † remarks upon him) to restrain the People from present Separation, till they had the Authority of a Synod for doing so; and can the African Council be said to differ from him in this, when all they wrote upon this Subject, was in the particular Case of the Spanish Churches, where such a regular Synod had already settled all in the same manner that Origen would have it done? Or, supposing Irenæus referr'd to this special Case of Immorality, (which 'tis likely, you see, he did not) could he be said to allow the People to provide another Bishop for themselves, of their own Power and Authority, and without the Assent of other Churches, because he said they should abstain from the former? determining nothing for them which way they should be better provided for in the Case, but plainly leaving them (as I observ'd before) to the ordinary Methods of the Church for that; which, as the

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Enquirer owns (in this very Place) *was avouch'd by all to be this, That Synods did depose all scandalous and criminal Bishops; and to understand it otherwise (in Origen's Case, says he) was to contradict all other Writers besides: 'Twere hard upon Irenaus then, to say, he did not understand it so, who had so strictly charged all Christians (as you heard but just now) to keep close to the Apostolical Succession, to whom the certain Gift of Truth was so peculiarly bequeath'd, and to be so jealous of all others, who would meet any where, without regard to that.*

And thus the three Authorities produced agree (I conceive) in this, that neither one nor t'other justify the People of any Church, to deprive or set up a Bishop or Pastor for themselves *of their own Power and Authority, in this last Case of a wicked and scandalous Life; any more than the Catholick Practice of the Primitive Church did in the greater ones of Heresy and Apostacy itself, which we have no where found was done; and with this I shall close the material Point of the justifiable Causes of Separation, and at the same time the general Head of this last Chapter, concerning the Unity or Schism of the Primitive Church.*

And by the particular Survey, which has been taken of these two important Points, it is no hard Matter (I think) to know what *Schism is, and in every Division of the Church, who the Schismatics are.* The learned Enquirer indeed, differs widely from the Primitive Church about it, in the Case of Non-Essentials; but then he differs little less from himself too; for all Kind of Imposers in that Case are Schismatics of the highest

highest Nature with him; he taxes them with Cruelty, Tyranny, *Violation of the Church's Concord*, and a great deal more, (beyond his usual Temper;) and yet in his own Account of the Discipline of the Primitive Church, he shews us there was as much Imposition of that Nature practis'd then, as he can any where complain of, in any Orthodox Church at this very Day. For his Account of Primitive Provincial Synods is this, † *They were assembled* (says he) *amongst other things, for resolving all difficult Points that did not wound the Essentials of Religion*; and what were those *Resolutions*, but so many Determinations one way or t'other, what the Churches of the Provinces they belong'd to should believe, in such Non-essential Matters as they so consider'd and resolv'd? especially, since he farther adds, * *that what they there enacted, they decreed to be observ'd by all the Faithful of those Churches whom they represented, or by all the Members of them.* Now this Right of debating Non-essential Points in Ecclesiastical Councils, of resolving and determining about them there, and requiring all the Churches they belong'd to, to acquiesce in such Synodical Determinations of them, is all the Imposition, I am sensible of, that any Orthodox Church (Primitive or Modern) can be charged with in *any difficult Points that wound not the Essentials of Religion*; and therefore I cannot see (I confess) what sort of Imposers he can be so highly angry at in this Case, without reflecting on the sacred Synods of the Primitive Church, in his own manifest Account of them.

But

† Enq. p. 147.

* Ibid. p. 148, & 149.

But 'tis too visible, with what Partiality to his own Opinion he || applies the venerable *Irenaus's* Censure (of all inexcusable Schismatics in his Time) to the single Persons of such *Imposters only*, as he is pleas'd to call them; that is, to all Ecclesiastical Authority whatsoever, which should determine any thing in *these difficult Points*, which no way wound the *Essentials of Religion*, let their Considerations of *Unity, Peace, or Order*, in it, be what they will; and notwithstanding the Right and Practice he had own'd (you see) before in Primitive Provincial Synods to do so. And that *S. Cyprian* and his *African Province* drew up a solemn Decree in such a Case, (as our learned Author himself allows the Case to be) for the Observation of all belonging to them, I have shewn at large before.

But I shall leave *Irenaus's* own Words with the Reader, that he may judge how the Byass of an Author's Mind must be set, to apply such general Language to any special Sense he has first prepar'd for it, which the Holy Father himself gives no manner of Occasion for. The Words are these:

The * *Spiritual Man* (says he) will judge, or discern those who make Schisms, who are inhumane,

|| Enq. p. 158.

* Discipulus vere spiritualis recipiens spiritum Dei — judicabit eos qui schismata operantur, qui sunt immanes, non habentes Dei dilectionem, suamq; utilitatem potius considerantes, quam unitatem Ecclesiae, propter modicas & quaslibet causas magnum & gloriosum corpus Christi conscindunt & dividunt, & quantum in ipsis est, interficiunt; pacem loquentes, & bellum operantes, vere liquantes culicem, & camelum transglutientes. *Iren. l. 4. cap. 53. & 62.*

not having the Love of God, but preferring their own Advantage before the Unity of the Church, for trivial and slight Causes, rend and divide the great and glorious Body of Christ, and as much as in them lies, destroy it; who speak Peace, but wage War, truly straining at a Gnat, and swallowing a Camel.

Here's a fearful Character of Schismatics, every one sees; but the Enquirer thinks he sees more; he discerns a special Kind of Schismatics mark'd out here, to whom he frankly applies it all; and those are *Imposers* of Non-essentials (as I hinted but now) be their Authority what it will, or the Articles they decree never so innocent or useful in their Kind. In such Cases, all inferiour Members of a Church, by his Construction of the Place, may be left at Liberty to disturb the Peace, and rend the Unity of the Church for such meer Non-essential Points, and be all the while innocent and blameless in it; for the whole Guilt is removed † (you see) from them, and placed where it cannot touch them. But, what one Syllable is there in *Irenaus's* Words, which looks that way? unless we will be great *Imposers* ourselves, and oblige the Reader to believe, that there could be no *Inhumanity*, or *Want of the Love of God* in it, if any Subordinate Members of a Church should break the Unity (and disobey their Spiritual Superiors too) for such slight Matters as *Irenaus* speaks of there; or that it could not be said of them, that they *preferr'd* their own Advantage before the Church's Unity,

† Enq. *Ibid.*

Unity, who from being Subjects in it, make themselves Heads and Governors of Faction and a Party, by excepting against Non-essential Matters, and forming a Schism upon it : Or that it could not be supposed, that such mean and ordinary Schismatics should make *Professions of Peace and Piety*, whilst they wage War against the Church of God : Or lastly, that to strain at a Gnat, and swallow a Camel, could with no Propriety of Speech be said of them, with whom a harmless *Non-essential* will not down, and yet the dreadful Guilt of Schism be easily digested by them.

The Words make no Distinction of Persons from one end to t'other ; nor exempt any from the common Guilt of the same unnatural Schism, where the Cause of Controversie and Division is the same ; that is for slight or Non-essential Matters ; and 'tis strange to think the venerable Author of them (who held the highest Station in the Church) should mean to clear all *other* Members of it, and leave them free to rend the *great and glorious Body of Christ*, for such slender Matters as he was speaking of, except himself alone, or such as he was.

Had his first Words been fairly translated, there could have been no Umbrage for such a Construction ; for the Schismatics *Irenaus* censures, are, in his own express Terms, such as || actually make or form a Schism, upon some slender Occasion or other, and not such

such as should more remotely *cause* (or occasion) such a Schism to be made, as the Enquirer has render'd them; and by that slight Turn alone, made them so plausibly countenance his own peculiar Application.

But I'll leave the Quotation now to speak for itself, and only excuse myself for differing in one Particular more from the learned Enquirer, in translating that first Sentence of it. He renders it thus, *That at the Last Day, Christ shall judge those who cause the Schisms* (there spoken of;) and I doubt not, but all such Schismaticks will sadly find it so. But *Irenaus's* Sense, I conceive to be this, that *the Spiritual Man will judge* (or discern) *those who actually make such Schisms, &c.* And my Reason for it, is, because the Holy Father for nine or ten short Chapters together, was speaking in one continued Discourse of this particular Judge, who should try and discern all Sorts of Adversaries to the Truth: And in the Fifty Third Chapter, where he first began it, he expresses by Name the *Spiritual Disciple*, who should so discern and judge all, and himself be judg'd of no Man, (according to the sacred Text, 1 Cor. ii. 15.) And answerable to that, in the Sixty Second Chapter, where he speaks of judging *Schismaticks* amongst the rest, (in the Words of this Quotation before us) he shuts up the whole Discourse with repeating that Clause again, *but he himself will be judg'd or discern'd by no Man*; which made it plain to me, that the *Spiritual Man* was the Judge spoken of,

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from one end to t'other ; and therefore I translated it so.

Some little Attention then seems to have been wanting here, both as to the Context and Application of this Primitive Father's Words : But take them in what Sense we will, they are an evident Instance of that awful Sense which the first and best of Christians had of the dreadful Sin of *Schism* ; not much unlike to what the learned Enquirer has † observ'd from S. *Cyprian* to the same Purpose ; and since his Enquiry was professedly written to heal such unhappy Divisions in the Church, and my *Heart* tells me I had no other Ends in all my Observations upon it, I shall leave the Authorities of both those ancient Fathers to the serious Consideration of the Sons of Peace, as no unsuitable Conclusion to this whole Discourse.

S. *Cyprian's* Words are very close and affecting indeed : The Schismatick (says he) * *can no longer have God for his Father, who has not the Church for his Mother, but is out of the Number of the Faithful ; and tho' he should die for the Faith, yet should he never be saved.*

And *Irenaus's* Sense is this, that Schism is such || *a Rending and Dividing of the great and glorious*

† Enq. p. 180.

* Alienus est — habere jam non potest Deum patrem, qui Ecclesiam non habet matrem, tales etiam si occisi in confessione nominis fuerint, macula ista nec sanguine abluitur. *De Unit.*

|| Magnum & gloriosum corpus Christi conscindunt & dividunt, & quantum in ipsis est, interficiunt. *Ire ubi supra.*

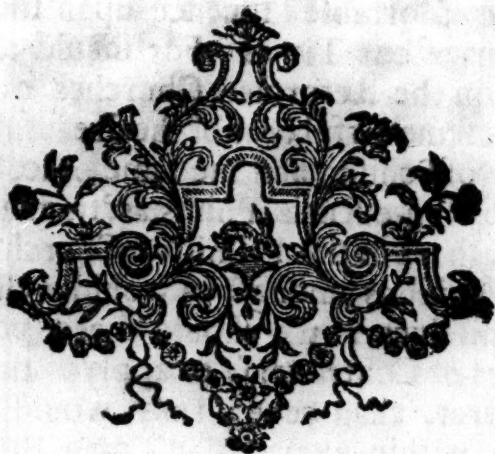
glorious Body of Christ, as equals the Guilt of Schismatics to that of Apostates from the Faith, (censur'd by S. Paul) || who crucify to themselves afresh the Lord of Glory, and put him to an open Shame; and this Guilt he makes more monstrous and unnatural still, when Men actually form their Schism for † slight and inconsiderate Matters; that is, (as the learned Enquirer explains it) upon Account of Non-essential Points, which wound no Fundamental Article of Christian Faith or Doctrine; to this Sort of Schismatics his Censure more immediately belongs: And if the joint Suffrage of these two eminent Martyrs of the Primitive Church were duly weigh'd and solemnly attended to, it might have a comfortable Influence upon the unhappy Divisions of our Times: For should all divided Parties in the Reformed Churches of this Age, have the same awful Fear of the dreadful Guilt and Danger of Schism, and the same peaceful Indifference to Non-essential Points, as 'tis manifest these Holy Fathers of the Primitive Church had; the forest Divisions amongst us would well nigh heal of themselves; we should need no litigious Volumes of Controversy to apply to them, which rather fret, than cure; they would insensibly dissolve within every Man's own Breast, thro' the gentle (but powerful) Influence of that Spirit of Peace, Humility, and Love, which, for so many Ages together, kept the Universal Church
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|| Heb. vi. 6.

† Propter modicas & quolibet causas. *Iren. ut supra.*

of Christ in so amiable and admir'd an Unity within itself. May the dying Petition of the great Lord and Redeemer of the Church, so often and so affectionately * repeated to the Father, for the Peace and Unity of us all, procure that Miracle of Mercy for us, that *we all may be one, even as the Father and he are one.* Amen, Amen.

* Jo. xvii. 11, 21, 22, 23.



F I N I S.

